

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS
VOL. XXIV

*TWENTY-FOURTH MEETING HELD AT JAIPUR,
FEBRUARY 1948*



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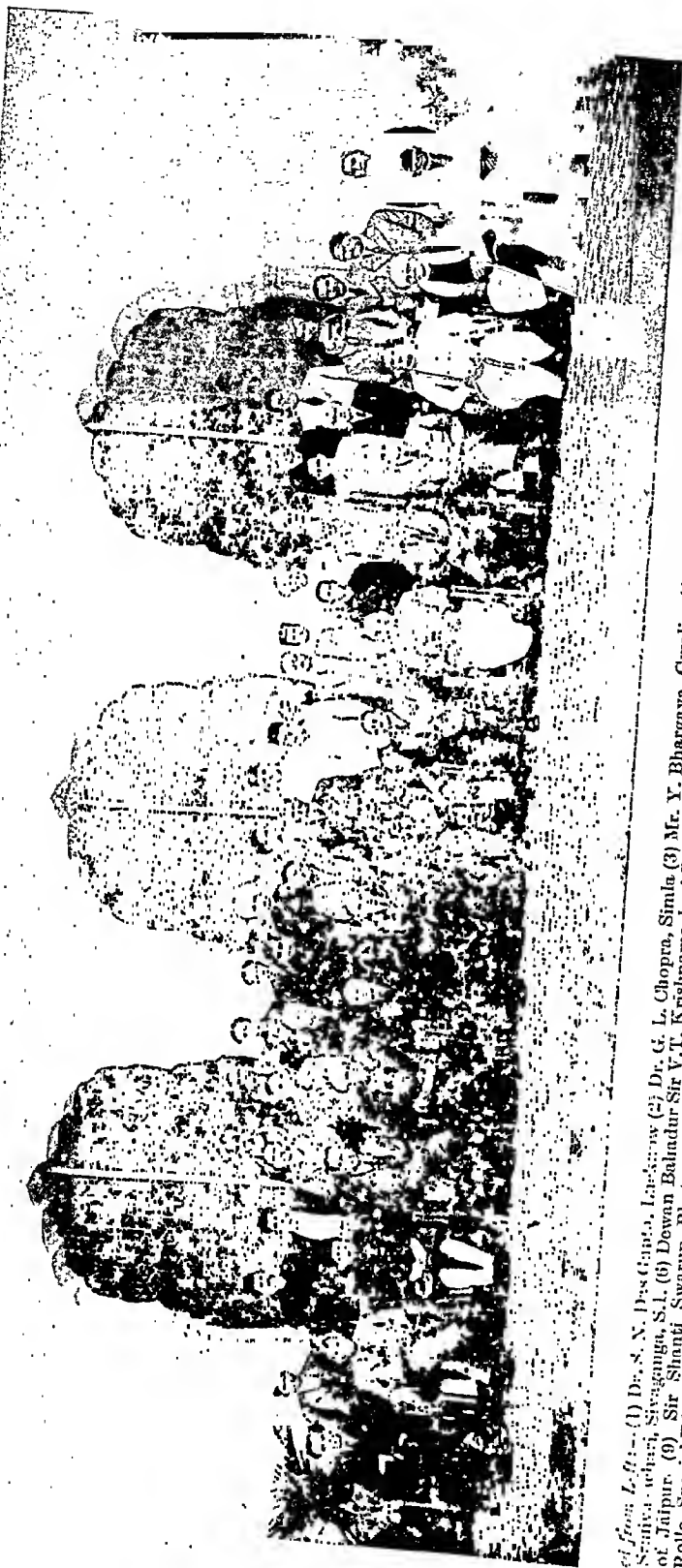
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Seated from Left:—(1) Dr. S. N. Das Gupta, Lucknow (2) Dr. G. L. Chopra, Simla (3) Mr. Y. Bhargava, Gwalior (4) Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta, Udaipur (5) Devan Bahadur C. S. of Jaipur. (9) Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, Chairman, New Delhi (10) Pt. D. S. Tewari, Edn. Minister, Jaipur (11) Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Calcutta (12) Mr. J. C. Rollo, Special Education Officer, Jaipur (13) Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar, Poona (14) Mr. B. V. Bhut, Dhulia (15) Mr. J. M. Ghose, Local Officer, Jaipur.

Standing from Left:—(1st Row)—(1) Mr. A. W. Wankar, Dhar (16) Mr. S. N. Dhar, Indore (17) Mr. G. M. Moraes, Bombay (18) Dr. H. N. Sinha, Nagpur (19) Mr. V. Narayana Pillai, Trivandrum. (2nd Row)—(1) Jemadar (2) Mr. D. P. Saxena, Jaipur (3) Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah, Calcutta (4) Mr. Mohibbul Hasan Khan, Calcutta. (5) Mahamahopadhyaya B. N. Rau, Todhpur (6) Dr. V. D. Rao, Bombay (7) Mr. C. V. Joshi, Baroda (8) Dr. Y. K. Deshpande, Yectmal (9) Mr. G. H. Khare, Poona (10) Mr. T. S. Shejwalkar, Poona (11) Dr. M. R. Majumdar, Baroda (12) Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Allahabad (13) Dr. P. M. Joshi, Bomba (14) Jemadar.

PART I.

Proceedings of the Public Meeting, Twenty-fourth Session, Jaipur, 21st February, 1948, Town Hall.

The Public Meeting of the Twenty-fourth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held in the Town Hall, Jaipur, on the 21st February 1948 at 11-00 a.m. The meeting was inaugurated by His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur. In the absence of Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister for Education, Government of India, and the *ex-officio* President of the Commission, Sir S. S. Bhatnagar, O.B.E., D.Sc., F.R.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Education, presided.

A list of members corrected up-to-date with indications against the names of those who attended the Session will be found on pages 7—13.

His Highness was received by Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, Secretary, and the Local Officer at 10-30 a.m. at the gate of the Town Hall. Sir Shanti Swarup garlanded His Highness and the members were next introduced to him by the Secretary. A group-photograph was then taken. The Members led His Highness in a procession to the Hall.

Before the meeting started His Highness invited the house to express their deep sense of sorrow at the death of Mahatma Gandhi. One minute's silence was observed all members standing.

Sir Shanti Swarup before inviting His Highness to inaugurate the Twenty-fourth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission read a message from the Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad :

“ Friends !

I am very sorry that due to recent developments in the country and due to the fact that the All-India Congress Committee meeting is scheduled to be held on the 21st and 22nd February, I am unable to attend this conference of the Indian Historical Records Commission. I send my sincere thanks to His Highness the Maharaja Sahab of Jaipur and to his Government for their hospitality in inviting the Commission to Jaipur. I am confident that the Conference will be crowned with success.”

Speech of Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar.

It is my pleasant duty to express on behalf of the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission and myself our sincere thanks to Your Highness for consenting to inaugurate the Session and to your government for extending to us a warm and generous hospitality. This duty was to be performed by our celebrated leader Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who adorns the portfolio of Education and Art in the Government of India. It is most unfortunate that urgent public duties have prevented him from being present at this function. He asked me to convey to Your Highness and this gathering his greetings and good wishes. And he sent a message which I have just read out to you. He is very sorry that he could not fulfil his engagements at Jaipur on this occasion.

The Indian Historical Records Commission, designed as it is for tendering expert advice on the care, preservation and salvaging of records and the best methods of making them available for historical research, has naturally chosen as the venue of its sessions places where these objectives are most likely to evoke sympathetic response. As such, a Session at Jaipur was long overdue. This territory abounds in historical memories and can boast of many still extant memorials in stone and paper. We can trace its history back to the remote antiquity, for this is the Matsyadesa, celebrated in the epic Mahabharata as the abode of the Pandavas during their last year of exile and Bairat, its capital, situated only about 42 miles from Jaipur City, may have taken its name from Birat, the host of the Pandavas. The claim of descent of the Kachwahas of Amber or Jaipur from Kush, the second son of Rama, may be based on no surer historical foundation than tradition, their connection with Raja Nala may be useful only as providing an inspiring theme for bardic songs and the derivation of the name of the city of Amber from either Ambikeshwara (Siva) or Ambarisha, the son of Mandhata may be nothing more than an interesting legend; but the discovery at Bairat of the Asokan inscription which, in the hands of James Prinsep, became the key for unravelling and deciphering the edicts of King Piyadasi whose Dhamma Chakra serves yet to give us strength and inspiration, is no myth, and gives Bairat an antiquity and importance which no historian can question. Coming to more recent times, the fort of Ranthambhor claims an age of about a thousand years. It passed through many vicissitudes and defied many a siege. These places together with Chatsu Daosa and the comparatively modern city of Jaipur, planned and built by Sawai Jai Singh, provide enough material of interest to students of history. Coming to the rulers of this region, the Kachwaha Rajputs can boast in Mansingh, Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Sawai Jai Singh a galaxy of successful rulers whose paternal rule gives benevolent despotism a plausible, if unstable, justification. Warrior, diplomat, mathematician, astronomer, scientist and town-planner, Sawai Jai Singh, in the words of our esteemed leader and Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, would have been a remarkable man anywhere and at any time.

As a successor of these distinguished rulers, scholars in this country naturally expect Your Highness and your distinguished Prime Minister to take a lively interest in the records which enshrine their history and achievements. The rulers of Jaipur played in the palmy days of the Mughal Empire an all-India part; in fact, their activities often took them far beyond the geographical limits of our country. Their personal correspondence and official records cannot therefore be of mere parochial interest. Your government has, I understand, already taken steps for their safe preservation. If I may be permitted to say so, experts feel that the organisation of a record office under a qualified keeper is an indispensable preliminary to a proper utilisation of records for historical purposes and I look forward to the day when record offices will be set up and records made available to bonafide students in all provinces and states to facilitate the task of writing and rewriting history from a national view point.

Since the Commission met last at Indore, many things have happened in our country. The freedom which we have attained makes new history and the importance of our Commission will grow more and more



Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, F.R.S., Chairman, Research and Publication Committee.

as we progress on this new road. I must recall here the untimely and sad death of Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan. He was an old President and a close associate of the Commission. India has not escaped the birth pangs of independence which are still convulsing its body. We meet here under the shadow of partition and many familiar figures are not with us today. We shall miss their valuable contributions to our deliberations. I am sure, however, that their experience would be useful in their new settings and our common allegiance to the historical muse will yet keep us close together in spirit. In the field of historical research the material separation cannot divide us very far.

As the last year has been a year of great trial for all of us, the results achieved by us in our special spheres of activity have naturally fallen short of our expectations. Our publication scheme has met with a stumbling block in the lack of printing facilities. At least half a dozen volumes are now ready for the press but we have not been able to make suitable arrangements for printing them. The Regional Survey Committees, where formed, have not functioned as effectively as we might have wished though they have brought several important documents to light; in other places, their formation has been retarded. We are unable to report establishment of any new record office. Our promised scientific service to smaller record offices has not yet been forthcoming as the mechanisation of the repairing section of the National Archives has been delayed by non-arrival of machinery ordered from abroad but some of them are already on their way. Our laboratory has not been idle and has within its limited resources done good work. We are glad, however, to say that the archives training scheme in the National Archives is drawing an increasingly larger number of trainees for whom more and more facilities are being offered by the Government of India. I am also happy to say that two issues of the quarterly journal "*The Indian Archives*" the publication of which was undertaken by the National Archives at the suggestion of the Commission, have already been out and have received a warm welcome from competent quarters.

Before I conclude, I would wish you not to be disheartened by the not very encouraging picture of our achievements portrayed above. I can assure you that the National Government is fully alive to its responsibilities in fostering the cultural regeneration of our country and as soon as the immediate and more pressing demands are met, it will give all possible facilities to scholars who are engaged in reconstructing our country's past and shedding more light on our glorious deeds.

I cannot end without expressing our profound sense of overwhelming grief at the untimely and tragic end of the precious life of Mahatma Gandhi—an apostle of truth, non-violence and love and the most outstanding man of the present century. He was the *Soul of India and the Father of our Nation*. His achievements and work will form a very important chapter in the life history of our nation for he really made history for all of us.

With these few words I now request Your Highness to inaugurate this session of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Welcome address of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

Sir Shanti Bhatnagar, Members of the Historical Records Commission, Ladies and Gentlemen.

It gives me great pleasure to extend a cordial welcome to you. Besides possessing special architectural features of its own, Jaipur is a place of historical interest and I trust your session here will be a fruitful one.

2. Constituted first in 1919 the Indian Historical Records Commission can hardly be said to have a long history. Nevertheless, the years of its existence have witnessed important changes both in its composition and the scope of its activities. With a total strength of only seven experts comprising of officials and non-officials, the Commission confined itself originally to advising governments on the preservation of their records and on the granting of facilities to research workers. To-day your activities include a country-wide exploration for salvaging records and manuscripts, application of modern scientific methods to preserve them and devising a scheme for their publication. Nor does the Commission propose to limit its attention to Indian manuscripts. It has before it the ambitious plan for making available to our scholars, unpublished records of other lands as well. It is in the fitness of things, therefore, that you now draw for your membership not only of provinces and States, but also on University bodies and other learned societies.

3. Under the auspices of this Commission, the National Archives of India is now engaged in the preparation of scientific index of the records in its possession and the publication of an Archives Journal. It has also instituted a course in Archives administration : this will supply the necessary trained personnel to the records offices in provinces and States. My Government has already taken advantage of these training facilities and I must express here appreciation of the courtesy of the department in giving us expert assistance in running our records section.

4. The broad function of the Commission is to get together the raw materials of Indian history. But to build up the structure of our country's past in all its completeness is no ordinary task. A great writer who defined History as 'Philosophy teaching by experience' mentioned from his point of view two difficulties. 'Before Philosophy can teach by experience, the Philosophy has to be in readiness ; the experience has to be gathered and intelligibly recorded.' Now I do not think we lack Philosophy in this country. The salvaging, the acquisition and the interpretation of the records will also yield to the patient efforts of our workers. But the editing and publication of material is responsible work which calls for men of special attainments. A mere artisan, who does not approach this task with insight and reverent humility and who works in some selected department of history without an eye for the whole, often loses balance and proportion. Fortunately, India has already produced eminent historians with the necessary vision and I am sure that, as time goes on, their numbers will increase.

5. Ladies and Gentlemen, wishing you a happy stay during the session—to be followed, I hope, by yet happier recollections of it—I now formally declare this 24th Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission open.



*Major His Highness Sarmad-i-Hindustan Raj Rajindra Sri Maharajadhiraja
Swai Sir Man Singhji Bahadur, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of Jaipur*

The Historical Exhibition which was organised by the Jaipur Government in connection with the session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, was opened by Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, K.C.S.I., Prime Minister of Jaipur State.

Speech of Sir V. T. Krishnamachari.

It is customary to organise an exhibition of historical records as part of the programme of the Historical Records Conference and I am sure all of us will agree as to the high educative value of bringing together important records bearing on the history of India.

2. No nation can afford to be indifferent to its past history ; and the reconstruction of the past can only be based on a critical examination of contemporary records. In India the task of collecting, preserving and studying historical records was long neglected. An impetus was given to the movement by the establishment of a separate department by the Government of India and today thanks to the labours of this department and of a succession of distinguished scholars, many of them connected with the Universities in India, we have become "records-conscious". The exhibitions held under the auspices of the Commission are also assisting in the achievement of this objective by bringing together interesting historical records in the possession of the Governments and of private families from different parts of India.

3. Jaipur can claim in this respect a position of importance. It will be recalled that, in mediaeval India, religious foundations in Rajputana, especially Jain foundations, were great centres of learning and played a notable part in preserving manuscripts of valuable works on religion, philosophy, history etc. These manuscripts still exist and I hope that an organisation will come into existence for selecting and publishing manuscripts in these private collections which possess interest from the point of view of history and of cultural movements. Again, the records in the State archives of Jaipur have a special interest of their own. In days gone by, the Rulers of Jaipur carried their arms to distant parts of India and even outside the geographical limits of this sub-continent ; and they were responsive to wider cultural interests. Thus you will find among the Pothikhana records, Sanskrit manuscripts in Bengali script which no doubt formed part of the library of that leader of men, Maharaja Man Singh. Fortunes of war once brought together two of India's great sons—Shivaji then in the prime of his life and Mirza Raja Jai Singh in his declining years but still at the zenith of his fame. Some of the correspondence in the exhibition relate to Shivaji's escape from the Aurangzeb's fortified capital. Contemporary documents preserved in our records and now exhibited for the first time show the part played by Kunwar Ram Singh at that fateful moment of history. We have also in our collection of manuscripts and paintings evidence that, in their contacts with the Mughal Court, Rulers of Jaipur took a deep interest in the cultural life of the period. The Razamnamah in our collection affords the best proof of this. There are many aspects of the history of Rajputana, of its culture and of its arts, which await detailed study and I trust that the establishment of the University of Rajputana and the holding of this Conference and Exhibition will quicken interest in this fascinating field.

4. The National Archives of India have been good enough to exhibit records illustrating Jaipur history. These relate mainly to the years 1836 to 1858 and show among other things that the humanitarian movements of the century found response in the State. A paper of 1846 speaks of the revival of an old hospital which had been abandoned and also of the opening of a medical school. In 1847, slavery and slave-trade were abolished and effective measures were taken to stop the kidnapping of children. Reference is also made, in one of the exhibits, to the munificent help given by the Ruler to the sufferers from the Bengal famine of 1874. Other papers relate to reforms in the administration.

5. Exhibits have come here from all parts of India—from the research institutions of Mahakoshal, Dhulia and Yeotmal ; from the Museums of Lucknow and Ajmer ; from the States of Jodhpur, Baroda, Pudukottah and Dhar ; and from private individuals whom it is not possible to mention individually. Our grateful thanks are due to all of them for their valuable co-operation. A visit to the Exhibition will show the inter-linking and inter-dependence of the different parts of India and the fundamental unity which underlies them. Not only the members of the Historical Records Commission but those in Jaipur who may not be interested in the technical side of history will find a visit to the Exhibition most interesting and profitable.

6. I have much pleasure in declaring the Exhibition open.

After the paper by Diwan Bahadur C.S. Srinivasachari was read and discussed, His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur and the Prime Minister left the meeting. Sir Shanti Swarup and the Secretary escorted them to their cars.

16 papers were then read and discussed during the meeting.

When the ordinary business of the Session was concluded, the Secretary moved a vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur, his Government, the Local Officer, local gentry and the Boy Scouts for contributing to the success of the session. Dr. R. C. Majumdar seconded the move and thanked Sir Shanti Swarup for the keen interest evinced by him in the debate and discussions on the papers. He also thanked the Secretary and his staff for their hard work.

A large number of enlarged microfilm copies of interesting historical documents from the National Archives of India and original documents from other provincial Governments, Indian States and learned institutions were exhibited. The exhibition which remained open for three days attracted a large number of visitors. A descriptive list of exhibits will be found in Appendix H. The Jaipur Government have kindly supplied free of charge 700 copies of the list for incorporation in the proceedings of the Twenty-fourth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, the receipt of which has been gratefully acknowledged.

As usual a series of popular lectures by members of the Commission were arranged to establish cultural contact with the local public. The names of the members and the subject of their talks are given below—

1. Father H. Heras, S. J. : *Mohenjo Daro*
2. Dr. R. C. Majumdar : *Greater India*
3. Dr. S. N. Sen : *Preservation of Records*

The members were taken to places of historical interest in and around Jaipur. Among other places of note they visited Amber and Ramgarh. His Highness the Maharaja was At Home to the members at Ram Bagh Palace on the 23rd and Tewari Govind Narainji entertained them at a tea party on the 21st.

On invitation from the Government of India Dr. G. C. Mendis of the Ceylon Manuscripts Commission attended the session as a visitor.

PERSONNEL OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.

*Attended the Jaipur Session (Corrected up-to-date).

1. The Hon'ble Minister for Education, Government of India, New Delhi, *ex-officio* President.
- *2. The Educational Adviser to the Government of India, Ministry of Education, New Delhi, *ex-officio* Chairman (i) Research & Publication Committee, (ii) Local Records Sub-Committee.
- *3. The Director of Archives, Government of India, National Archives of India, New Delhi, *ex-officio* Secretary, (i) Indian Historical Records Commission (ii) Research & Publication Committee (iii) Local Records Sub-Committee.

ORDINARY MEMBERS:

Tenure of membership is for five years with effect from 1st April 1947 to 31st March 1952.

Government of India.

- *1. Diwan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Principal, Raja Doraisingam Memorial College, Sivaganga (South India).
- *2. Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. D. V. Potdar, B.A., "Lokokalyan", 77, Shanwar Peth, Poona.
- *3. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., (Formerly Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University), 4, Bepin Pal Road, P.O. Kalighat, Calcutta.
4. Prof. Mohammad Habib, M.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, Professor of History, Muslim University, Aligarh.
5. Dr. Tara Chand, M.A., D.Phil., Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Education, New Delhi.

Provincial Governments.

6. Rao Bahadur Dr. B. S. Baliga, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Curator, Madras Records Office, Chittoor (Madras).
- *7. Dr. P. M. Joshi, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Director of Archives, Government of Bombay, Bombay.
- *8. Mr. B. B. Chakrabartty, B.A., B.L., Keeper of the Records of the Government of West Bengal, Berhampore.
- *9. Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Bar-at-Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of East Punjab, Historical Records Office, Simla.

Indian States.

- *10. Mr. C. V. Joshi, M.A., Rajdaftardar, State Records Office, Baroda.
- *11. Mr. V. Narayana Pillai, M.A., B.L., Professor of History, University College, Trivandrum.
- *12. Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, Development Minister, Mewar State, Udaipur.
- *13. Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Bisheshwar Nath Ren, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Government of Jodhpur, Jodhpur.
- *14. Mr. J. M. Ghose, M.A., Professor of History & Vice-Principal, Maharaja's College, Jaipur.
- *15. Mr. Y. Bhargava, M.Sc., Secretary, Foreign and Political Department, Gwalior Government, Gwalior.
- 16. Pt. Dasharatha Sharma, M.A., D.Litt., Secretary to the Maharaj Kumar Sahib, Bikaner State, Bikaner.
- *17. Sardar S. N. Banerjee, M.A., Professor of History, Mahindra College, Patiala.
- 18. M. R. Ry. V. N. Damodaran Nambiyar, Avl., B.A., B.L., Superintendent, Central Records Office, Cochin Government, Ernakulam.
- 19. Dr. A. G. Pawar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, Principal Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
- 20. Rai Bahadur *Sachin Shiromani* Lala Raj Kanwar, M.A., P.C.S. (Retd.), Chief Minister, Patna State, Bolangir (via Sambalpur).
- 21. Khan Chaudhury Amanatulla Ahmed, M.L.C.; Cooch-Bihar State, Cooch-Bihar.
- 22. Mr. Imtiaz Ali Arshi, State Librarian, Rampur State, Rampur.
- *23. *Purovrittajyoti* K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar, B.A., L.T., F.R.A.S. (Lond.), Director of Public Instruction and Historical Records Officer (in-charge of Research), Pudukkottai State, Pudukkottai.
- 24. Mr. A. H. Nizami, M.A., Professor of History, Darbar College, Rewa (Baghelkhand).
- 25. Mr. Kedar Nath Mahapatra, B.A., D.Ed., M.R.A.S., State Archaeologist, Kalahandi State, Bhawanipatna.
- *26. Dr. Jeypal Singh, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Raj Rishi College, Alwar.
- *27. Mr. S. N. Dhar, M.A., Professor of History, Holkar College, Indore.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.**Provincial Governments.**

- 1. Rao Bahadur Dr. B. S. Baliga, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Curator, Madras Records Office, Chittoor (Madras).
- *2. Dr. P. M. Joshi, M.A., Ph.D., Director of Archives, Government of Bombay, Bombay.
- *3. Mr. B. B. Chakrabartty, B.A., B.L., Keeper of the Records of the Government of West Bengal, Berhampore.

- *4. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer in History, Allahabad University, Allahabad.
- *5. Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Bar-at-Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of East Punjab, Simla.
- *6. Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Professor of History Patna College, Patna.
- *7. Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Morris College, Nagpur.
- 8. Dr. B. K. Kakti, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of English, Cotton College, Gauhati (Assam).
- *9. Mr. G. S. Das, B.A. (Lond.), Principal, Sambalpur College, Sambalpur (Orissa).
- 10. Mr. R. S. Kapur, B.A. Hons. (London), Head of the Deptt. of History, Government College, Ajmer.

Indian States.

- *11. Dr. M. R. Majmudar, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Gujrati, Baroda College, Baroda.
- *12. Dr. Mohan Sinha Melita, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, Development Minister, Mewar State, Udaipur.
- 13. Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Superintendent, Archaeological Deptt., Jodhpur State, Jodhpur.
- *14. Mr. J. M. Ghose, M.A., Professor of History & Vice-Principal, Maharaja's College, Jaipur.
- *15. Sardar S. N. Banerjee, M.A., Professor of History, Mohindra College, Patiala.
- 16. M. R. Ry. V. K. R. Menon, Avl., M.Sc., (Lond.), Director of Panchayats, The Government of Cochin, Ernakulam.
- 17. Dr. A. G. Pawar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
- 18. Mr. P. K. Mookherji, M.A., Professor of History, Rajendra College, Patna State, Bolangir (*via* Sambalpur).
- 19. Khan Chaudhuri Amanatullah Ahmed, M.L.C., Cooch-Bihar State, Cooch-Bihar.
- 20. Mr. Intiaz Ali Arshi, State Librarian, Rampur State, Rampur.
- *21. Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar, B.A., L.T., F.R.A.S. (Lond.), Director of Public Instruction & Historical Records Officer (in charge of Research), Pudukkottai State, Pudukkottai.
- 22. Mr. A. H. Nizami, M.A., Professor of History, Darbar College, Rewa.
- *23. Dr. Jeypal Singh, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Raj Rishi College, Alwar.
- *24. Mr. A. W. Wakankar, B.A., B.T., Professor of Geography, Anand College and History Officer of the State, Dhar State, Dhar (C.I.).
- *25. Mr. S. N. Dhar, M.A., Professor of History, Holkar College, Indore.

Universities.

26. Mr. V. R. Ramachandra, Dikshitar, M.A., Professor of History and Archaeology, Madras University, Madras.
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PART II

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A PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND THE BRITISH CONQUEST OF CEYLON, (1795-96).

[By Dewan Bahadur C. S. Shrinivasachari, M. A.]

Dr. Hugh Cleghorn (1751-1834) was Professor of Civil History in the University of St. Andrews in the years 1773-93. He was a good friend of Dr. Bell whose *Madras System of Education* attracted notice at the time. Cleghorn had, during his frequent visits to the Continent, become acquainted with Count de Meuron, a Swiss Count, who was the proprietor and Colonel of a Swiss Regiment of Infantry which constituted a considerable element in the Dutch garrison of Ceylon and had been for a number of years in the pay of the Dutch East India Company. Cleghorn saw the great advantage that would accrue to the British cause in India if he could secure the transfer of this regiment from Dutch to English service and thereby help in the conquest of Ceylon, which, along with the other territories under the administration of the moribund Dutch East India Company, had been taken over by the Batavian Republic which was established under the aegis of Revolutionary France. The French Revolutionary Government were keen on securing the Dutch Colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Java, and Ceylon; and the events of 1794-95 brought these schemes within "measurable distance of fulfilment." Lord Grenville, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, suggested to the Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of Holland, who was then a refugee in Britain, to agree to a British occupation of places belonging to the Dutch on condition that any fort or warship surrendered in consequence of the order of the Prince would be restored at the conclusion of a general peace. The Prince issued an order, dated Kew, 7th February 1795, to Van Angelbeek, the Dutch Governor of Ceylon, to admit British troops into the Island. Mr. Henry Dundas, Secretary of State for War in the years 1794-1801 and President of the Board of Control, issued instructions to the Indian Governments to detach troops to take possession of these territories. The Madras Government sent in July 1795 a force to Trincomalee under Colonel Stuart, and also, a little ahead of this expedition, it sent Major Patrick Agnew to Van Angelbeek soliciting a temporary British Occupation of Ceylon and threatening a forcible occupation in case of refusal.

The British could cut off the rice supplies and easily occupy Jaffna and Mannar and other places facing the mainland, though Colombo, Galle, and Trincomalee could be defended for some time. The Council of Colombo first decided on a wavering attitude which, though declining the proffered protection, would yet avert the consequences of a refusal. The British were inclined to accept the compromise course of Angelbeek, but events brought about an open rupture at Trincomalee. Stuart attacked Fort Frederick on 23 August and soon secured its capitulation. The garrison, which included a company of the De Meuron Regiment, quickly capitulated. The garrison of Fort Osterberg also followed suit. Batticaloo and Jaffna capitulated in September. Mannar surrendered early in October without a blow. In all these places the garrisons were permitted to march out with honours of war; and a preliminary treaty of friendship and alliance was concluded with the Ruler of Kandy.

Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras, received news of the willingness of Count de Meuron to transfer his regiment to the British side, in September 1795; and

immediately his Council resolved to despatch Agnew again to Colombo in order to persuade Van Angelbeek to agree to the peaceful surrender of the Island.

Professor Cleghorn had in February, 1795 communicated his plan for the transfer of De Meuron's Regiment to the Lord Chancellor and had been authorised by the Secretary of State (Dundas) to proceed to Switzerland and negotiate with the Count De Meuron, and also to influence him to go to Ceylon himself and take the command of the regiment (March). Cleghorn and De Meuron drew up, at Neufchatel, on 30 March 1795, a plan for the transfer of the Regiment to the British. 2 Both the Professor and the Count then proceeded with great expedition to India through Alexandria and Suez. They reached the Malabar coast early in September and decided to land at Anjengo which was the British settlement situated nearest to Ceylon and to the Dutch factories in the South, and proceeded across the Travancore frontier to Palamcottah and Tuticorin. Agnew's negotiations at Colombo for the transfer of the Regiment of De Meuron bristled with difficulties over details, such as whether the British or the Dutch should bear the expense of transporting the Regiment to the mainland. The Dutch Council of Colombo finally decided (9 October, 1795) to reject the British proposals. Van Angelbeek protested against the transfer of the regiment, and held that the Count, as Proprietor, had no right to do so, since by the 25th Article of the Capitulation of 1781 he had permanently consigned the regiment to the Dutch for so long as he Dutch Company might require its services. But the Count in his letter to his brother, Colonel Pierre Frederic de Meuron who was in actual command of the Regiment, contended that in consequence of the dissolution of the Government with which he had made the capitulation of his Regiment in 1781 he was freed from his obligation. 3 Cleghorn also held that Governor Angelbeek tried to keep the Regiment ignorant of the transfer and even threatened it with forcible imprisonment during the operations that might ensue, though Colonel de Meuron had assured him that "their sense of Honour and obligation would not allow them to act during the present War against the Dutch Settlements in Ceylon." But Agnew pointed out that the capitulation contained no such limitation. The entire Regiment, including the men in garrison at Colombo and at Galle and those taken prisoners in the capture of Trincomalee, 4 reached the mainland in November.

Agnew reported that the Colombo Council's decision was "extremely opposite to the masses of the People, and to the opinions of the most respectable part of the Council, who see the ruin of their hopes, in the prospect of our obtaining the Island by Conquest." He said that the resolution of the Anti-Stattholderian Party proceeded "partly from an idea that we cannot spare force sufficient for the attack of Colombo, and partly from the hope that a French force, which the Emissaries of that power have led to expect in India, may occupy our troops in other quarters."

Apparently, however, a stubborn resistance was intended; Tombe's account conveys the impression of careful preparations having been made against the coming of the British. The loss of the De Meuron Regiment was the loss of the most efficient part of the European Force and of many officers of experience. Further, Colonel De Meuron supplied the British with a considerable amount of valuable and detailed information about the state of Ceylon, its strength, garrisons, forts, etc. with exact plans and details and advice as to methods of attack which Stuart appears to have followed.

Van Angelbeek was suspected by one party of treasonable collusion with Agnew, while it was asserted on the other side that many of the Dutch in Colombo were "violent republicans of the Jacobin party" and desired to depose him and set up his son in his place. Colvin de Silva, the latest historian of this epoch, thinks that though there was a predisposition on the

part of Van Angelbeek to a favourable capitulation, still there is "no adequate positive proof that the surrender of Colombo was either the result of insubordination and jacobinism of a treasable act." 5.

The capitulation of Colombo was signed by Van Angelbeek and Agnew and confirmed by Stuart on 15 February 1796; it included the remaining Dutch settlements in Ceylon. There was no hint in it of any pledge to return the Maritime Provinces to the Dutch at the conclusion of a general peace, and that pledge had been "expressly conditional on the Dutch Settlements being ceded as a result of the order given by the Prince of Orange from Kew on the 7th February 1795." The Maritime Provinces were retained permanently in British hands by the Peace of Amiens in March 1802.

The Maritime Provinces were first administered directly from Madras, through a Governor whose jurisdiction was both Civil and Military. The first Governor was Colonel Stuart; and his successors were Major-General W. E. Doyle and Brigadier-General de Meuron (1797). Professor Cleghorn made a tour of Ceylon in 1796, and drew up for himself a list of subjects, information on which should be useful to Government. The questions on revenue, commerce, forts, garrisons and harbours, natural history, including agriculture, population and character of the inhabitants were all carefully drawn up and given along with their answers in parallel columns in his Journal of the tour. The details of the duties and taxes levied in Manuar and Jaffnapatam and of the exports from the island to Europe are very elaborate.

Cleghorn took with him to Jaffna a naturalist, Mr. J. P. Rottler⁶ (who afterwards compiled a Tamil Dictionary) to assist him in his inquiries into the natural history of the island. On his return to England he was rewarded for his services by Government; and he was also appointed the first Colonial Secretary of Ceylon under the Honourable F. North and served in that capacity for about two years, after which on account of differences with Governor North, he resigned his post and returned home. According to the editor of the *Cleghorn Papers*:—"His minutes and reports on State papers are of great value. He had to organise the administration of the country from the beginning and he laid the lines along which each succeeding Government has followed to this day. His policy was to make as few changes as possible in the Dutch system of administration . . . and to make what changes and improvements were necessary gradually as the people were able to bear them." He advocated the reinstatement of the old Dutch Civil Servants as far as possible; and thus was fully justified the inscription on his tombstone that "He was the Agent by whose instrumentality the Island of Ceylon was annexed to the British Empire." 7.

¹ From the letter of Cleghorn to Dundas, dated Madras, 15th October, 1795. (pp. 196-77) *The Cleghorn Papers*, edited by W. Neil (1927).

"It is fortunate that my mission may still produce most of the advantages expected from it. Only two Companies of the regiment de Mouron were in garrison at Trincomalie, and the officers bitterly regret that they were not informed of the Capitulation which their Colonel had made. Five companies are at Colombo, and constitute the great part of the European force of that garrison, one is at Batavia, and the rest are at Point de Galle. If the Capitulation with these shall be carried into effect, a great additional force may be added to our army in the Carnatic. Ceylon will soon acknowledge the authority of His Majesty, and the whole of the Dutch possessions in India may fall into our hands unshackled by the trammels of a guarantee. I am ready to meet every difficulty or danger which may enable my mission to be accomplished, or which can evince my zeal for the service.

"The old Nabob (Walajah) died yesterday, and this event may perhaps enable the government of Madras to make an amicable arrangement for the country of Polygars, unite in these districts the civil authority with the power of collecting the revenues, and in time, introduce into those cultivation and industry, or at least prevent the neighbouring inhabitants from being any longer exposed to their depredations. We can at present easily extend our empire in this quarter of the Globe, and the disposal of the Dutch establishments will soon be an object of your

consideration. Whether it may be the intention of the Government to preserve the whole or only a part must depend on contingencies which cannot be foreseen, or on reasonings concerning which it may be presumptuous in me to engage.

"2 The agreement stipulated that the Regiment was to receive British pay from the day it left Dutch service, and was to be employed under the British for the same number of years as it had served the Dutch. The arrears due to it from the Dutch were to be guaranteed by the British. The Count was to receive a *douceur* of £5,000 to accompany Cleghorn to India and facilitate the transfer by his presence.

3 Van Angelbeek thus protested against this contention :—

" But the Government is not yet dissolved, as well appear at the conclusion of a General Peace in the Netherlands. In the meantime, we are here the representatives of the same, and as such you acknowledge us by your letter of September 22nd last."

4 From Cleghorn's Diary Entry from November 16, 1795 (*The Cleghorn Papers*, pp. 208-9.)

" The whole regiment de Meuron enlisted on capitulation for the term of five years at the expiration of which, such as did not re-engage, had a right to be sent to Europe. As no recruits have been sent out for two years , the Dutch East India Company having remitted no money for enlisting, the whole regiment have either served their stipulated period or are on the point of having completed it. The returns as far as they have come to hand stand as follows :—

	Men.
Term expired	151
Re-enlisted for 5 years	441
Unexpired engagement	194
	<hr/> 786

" Upon conversing on this subject with Compte de Meuron he assured me that, by an article in the Capitulation between him, his regiment, and the Dutch East India Company, only 60 men were allowed to go home in any one year whatever might be the number of those whose term was expired ; and that he was positive every man in his regiment fit for duty would re-enlist. He declared that he had already sent orders to his brother to engage them."

5 Tombe (Thombe) quoted by Sir M. Burrows in ch. XXIV *Cambridge History of India Vol. IV*, attempts to ascribe the vacillation of Van Angelbeek to the departure of the Do Meuron Regiment and suspects his interviews with Agnow ; he holds that the Regiment ought not to have been allowed to depart (J. A. R. S. Ceylon Branch Vol. X, p. 365-6). Colonel de Meuron reported that the garrison was " divided into violent factions," while the Jacobin party was numerous and could easily put the Governor to death.

See also C. de Silva's *Ceylon under British Occupation 1795—1833—Vol. I pt. 42.*

6 Rottler, Dr. John Peter (1749—1836) ; Danish Missionary and botanist ; born June, 1749 reached Taranquebar, 1776 ; studied Tamil, and Indian Botany ; supplied botanical specimens of South Indian Flora to Europe ; toured in Ceylon, 1796 ; many of his plants and the catalogue sent to Kew ; Chaplain at Pulicat, 1814-8 ; served in the Vepery Mission, Madras, 1817, under the S. P. C. K. He compiled a Tamil Dictionary in four parts and translated the Prayer Book in Tamil. Rottler was also assisted by Harkness and Robertson as well as by two Munshis, deputed by the Madras Government for its revision. The first part was published in 1834 and dedicated to Lord William Bentinck. Rottler died while the second part was in the press.

From C. R. DeSilva's *Ceylon under the British Occupation*(1795-1833), Volume 1, p. 217.

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Cleghorn's retirement was, in reality, his dismissal, along with Lieutenant Turnour, Commandant of Mannar, for alleged embezzlement, in the Pearl Fishery of 1799. Cleghorn was for a short while, Ambassador to Kandy (July 1799). He was guilty of forming a combination against North, imagining that the latter had lost the confidence of Lord Mornington, Governor-General, and is said to have written 'reams' of criticism to Dundas. North bitterly complained of his outrageous behaviour and of his public abuse of me. His appointment as Ambassador, to Kandy was made because North thought he could not do much harm there, though, he maliciously remarked, " candying will not have the same effect on him as on currants, in making him sweet."

SOME NEW RECORDS ON THE MAHRATTA-JAIPUR RELATIONS

[By Mr. G. H. Khare, B.A.]

Till recent years if anybody were to state that the early Jaipur chiefs had any relations with the Mahrattas, he would have been looked upon as a person devoid of any historical sense. But the progress of historical studies and the discovery of new historical material have brought to light some very interesting facts about these relations. For instance few learned men ever knew that Mirza Raja Jaisingh had engaged one Ranade, a Maharashtra Brahman of Benares to educate his son Ramsingh and that under his patronage that Brahman wrote some literary works in Sanskrit¹. It has recently been revealed that when Shivaji, the great, escaped from Agra where he was kept under very strict vigilance by Aurangzeb, Kavindra Paramananda, the poet laureate and the Sanskrit biographer of that great man, was travelling with his attendants through the Jaipur territory and that all facilities were given to him there². This may be mere coincidence. But it is also known that Mirza Raja Jaisingh and his son Ramsingh did all they could for what they considered Shivaji's good after his submission and during his stay at Agra. Again very recently Sambhaji the martyr's letter addressed to Ramsingh has been published in which a vigorous plan of allied offensive against Aurangzeb had been suggested by the former³. Some more facts can be mentioned to show the continuity of these relations from published sources, but that is not the purpose of this paper. Here I wish to present some documents recently discovered and acquired by me which add considerably to our existing knowledge of these relations.

During Balaji Vishvnath Peshwa's visit to Delhi in 1718-19, one Hingane, most probably Mahadevabhat seems to have accompanied him there⁴. Dado Bhimsen, Dhondo Govinda, Baburao Malhar and others appear to have been appointed as the Peshwas' envoys, travelling or stationary, temporary or otherwise at various courts in the North. There are certain documents, however, which show that their influence at the Peshwa's court was gradually waning and that of Mahadevabhat increasing and by 1741 A. D. all of them for one reason or an other⁵, fell into the background and Mahadevabhat seems to have become the sole authority for all the North Indian affairs. The following documents naturally refer to some of the above persons.

During my third visit to the members of the Hingane family in search of fresh records in January 1947, I was able to acquire some interesting documents in Rajasthani language which indeed shed more light on the early phase of these relations. One of these documents issued by Savai Jaisingh himself, as is evident from his seal and endorsement on it, and dated samvat 1792 Ashadha Vadya 11 (5-6-1735 A.D.)⁶ refers to a *Parivana* that was issued by Jaisingh, the elder, on as early a date as the 11th of Shaban 1035 H. (29-4-1626 A. D.), to the effect that, along with two others one Janabhata Mandugana (Mandavagane), the father of the great-grand father of Mahadeva Bhat Hingane—whose very intimate relations with the Jaipur court of Savai Jaisingh are not so well-known as they ought to be—was recognized as the Tirtha-Purohita (the priest of a holy place) of Nasik on the Godavari river. Another letter of Savai Jaisingh with a seal and an endorsement identical with those on the former record

1. JBRS Vol. 17, pp. 43—55.

2. House of Shivaji, pp. 151-152.

3. M. M. P. V. Karc commenoration Vol. P 390

4. Hitihāsika Sankirna Sahitya Vol. II No. 219

5. I have converted the dates on the supposition that the samvat was *chaitradi* and the months *Purnimanta*

and dated samvat 1794 Jyeshtha Vadya 11 (14-5-1937 A. D.)¹ refers to still another *Parwana* dated the seventh of Jumad 11, 1050 H. and samvat 1703 (= 21-7-1645 A. D.) by which the same Janabhata was endowed with an annuity of 50 rupees to be drawn on the Paragana of Amber, the former capital of the Kacchavaha chiefs. Then somewhere between 1730 and 1740 Mahadevabhat Hingane was given as inam the village of Shaligrampura which lies in the Jaipur territory as is evident from a *sanad* in the possession of a member of the Hingane family. We have as yet no records which will prove any marked intimacy of the succeeding ancestors of Mahadevabhat Hingane with the Jaipur chiefs. But there is ample evidence to show that a number of Maharashtra Brahman families migrated temporarily or permanently to Jaipur during Savai Jaisingh's regime. But since Bajirao, the elder began to evince deep interest in the North Indian affairs, persons of some note began to visit Jaipur and other principalities in Rajputana for political purposes. Thus besides Dado Bhimsen, Dhondo Govinda, Baburao Malhar and Mahadevabhat Hingane, both Bajirao the elder and his mother Radhabai visited Jaipur in 1735-36 A.D.

Recently (April-May 1947) while searching the Persian records in the Peshwa Daftar, Poona, I have come across certain unpublished documents which add still more to our knowledge of the Jaipur-Mahratta relations and it will certainly be not out of place if I give extracts from some of them.

There is a letter, the sender and the addressee of which cannot be ascertained definitely as the wrapper and the envelope which generally bear the seal of the sender and the name of the addressee, are both missing. But in all probability it was despatched by Khan-i-Dauran to Bajirao the elder. Its purport can be given thus: I am in due receipt of your letter. Your homage to the emperor and honesty of purpose have been appreciated. Several matters have also been communicated by Dhondo Pandita. This well-wisher, after the imperial audience of leave, along with the vazirul-mamalik, has pitched his tents with Maharajadhiraja (Savai Jaisingh) at Ranthambhor on the 27th of Shaban, regnal year 17 (of Muhammad Shah, i.e., 11th January 1735 A. D.) The vazirul-mamalik wished to march by way of Akhbarabad (Agra), must have forded the Chambal by this time and will reach the Narbada by protracted marches. Please start soon with due belief in the divine as well as imperial favour and with that calmness of mind expressed by Dhondo Pandita personally and let me have the pleasure of meeting you. If God wills several of your demands will be met according to your wishes. Every matter will be evident to you on receipt of the letter of Maharajadhiraja (Savai Jaisingh) and after the interview with Dhondo Pandita. The remaining points will also be clarified in our meeting. With reliance on my friendship, you should certainly act up to your wishes and remain calm.

There is another letter which was also sent in all probability by Khan-i-Dauran to Bajirao the elder and though it bears no date, the mention of Radhabai's reaching Jainagar in her pilgrimage, shows that it must be placed at the beginning of July 1735 A.D. It is to the following effect: I am in receipt of the letter intimating the return of Dhondo Pandita, your firmness in the imperial service and the excuse for not attending the court till now. Both your honesty of purpose and firmness in it have become well-known and are such as will turn the tide of bad luck. The Maharajadhiraja must have written to you the same way. You must also have known that with a view to appeasing you, Ranoji Sindhiya's high-handed actions were pardoned at the request of the Maharajadhiraja. Last year according to the representations of Dhondo Pandita we eagerly waited long for your arrival here, but you did not come. This year you must not postpone it. As soon as you leave your home for the court, a nobleman will proceed to Ujain to welcome you whence both of you should come to the court together. After your arrival at Ujain the

¹ I have converted the dates on the supposition that the samvat was *chitradi* and the months *Purniman'a*

agreement executed by Dhondo Pandita and Yadgarkhan will come into force. Your mother has reached Jaipur with the intention of pilgrimage. We have ordered some of our faithful servants to accompany her, so that no one should put any obstacles in the way of her pilgrimage.

In a third letter sent most probably from Jaipur by Raja Ayamal, the premier of Jaipur, to Bajirao the elder the former writes that the letter must have come to know about Brahmamurti Mahadevabhat's (Hingane's) arrival there (at Jaipur), that he has struck his tents for departure on the 9th of Ramdan, regnal year 18 (of Muhammad Shah i.e. 12th January 1736 A.D.) after taking leave of Maharajadhiraja, that he would meet him with his army in due time after regular marches and that other matters would become evident from the despatch of the Brahmamurti.

The fourth letter is addressed by Allahwardikhan, the subadar of Bengal to Mahadevabhat Hingane and is undated. Still I am almost sure that it must be ascribed to the third quarter of 1742 A.D., preferably September. In it the former very graphically describes how he beat back Bhaskar (Ram Kolhatkar), the general of Raghuji Bhonsale, and chased him upto Atharpur Khurda. Its gist is given below. I am in receipt of a letter from Raja Ayamal informing me that you, after going to Jaipur, saw the Rajasahib (Sawai Jaisingh) in connection with persuading Balajirao (the third Peshwa) to help me against the Mahratta incursions into Bengal and that Raja Ayamal was sent to Sironj to see the Pandita (Balaji Bajirao, the third Peshwa) and induce him to proceed thither. Fortunately I have struck blows and chased Bhaskar from Katwa to Pachet, thence to Medinipur (Midnapur), from thither to Katak and from there to Atharpur Khurda and thus cleared off both the Subahs of Bengal and Orissa of the Mahrattas. He has disappeared by way of Sambalpur. During the enemy's retreat several battles took place in which the enemy could not stand and ran away like a jackal. For the present I am returning to Murshidabad. As the emperor indeed approves of the destruction and punishment of Bhaskar and Raghuji (Bhonsale) and as Bhaskar is returning safely, you should just represent the case in detail to the Pandita (Balaji Bajirao, the third Peshwa) and prevail upon him to proceed to the side of Devgadli Chanda, chestise Bhaskar and block the way of Raghuji if he turns to that side. People will thus be spared from calamity and the emperor will much appreciate this action of his.

I have reproduced here only four letters and refrained from any comments on them as they explain themselves well. But these are not the only papers in the Persian section of the Peshwa Daftar which add to our present knowledge of the Jaipur-Mahratta relations. There are hundreds of other papers and thousands of Akhbars and daily diary sheets bearing not only on the Mahratta-Jaipur relations but also a number of other subjects connected with North Indian affairs. But they lie there absolutely unsorted and mixed with account sheets, outward and inward lists, stray leaves of MSS., and scraps of paper. The labels on the bundles such as 'examined by Sir J. N. Sarkar' will surely mislead a researcher. A cursory examination yielded about fifty documents of great importance:

I give below the summary of a single document which will suffice, I believe, to show what treasure is hidden in this section of the Peshwa Daftar. This document is addressed to Bajirao Peshwa, the elder, and as it furnishes the news of Nadirshah's activities in Delhi upto the 13th of Zi-hajja of 1739 A.D., it must have been dispatched immediately after this date i.e. on about the 14th of this very month; wherefore the Christian date of this record would be 14th March 1739. Its purport can be given thus: You must have received the news about the battle fought between the emperor and Nadirshah, the ruler of Iran and how Amirul-umara (Khan-i-Dauran) with some of his relatives

such as brothers and sons and nobles was killed in it. My agent (wakil) informs me that after the death of the Nawab (Khan-i-Dauran), Asafjah with the intention of ending the atrocities saw Nadirshah through Burhanul-mulk (Sadatkhan) who was in Nadirshah's confinement after being wounded in the battle and on his advice took the emperor to Nadirshah's tent on the 20th of Zi-qada of the same year. Nadirshah received him with all formalities, had him seated on his own seat, took their meals together and then allowed him to return to his own tent. It was agreed that Nadirshah should see the emperor in his tent some other day, return to his own country after taking his leave and the emperor should return to Delhi. Parleys continued for two to three days more and on the 24th Nadirshah summoned Asafjah, asked him to be with him till the 28th, offered excuses for not going to the emperor's tent through indisposition and expressed his wish that the emperor should himself come to his tent and give him the audience of leave. Asafjah informed the emperor of Nadirshah's wish. The emperor through eagerness to come to an agreement pitched his tent between the two contending armies on the 27th and went to see Nadirshah. Hearing of the arrival of the emperor, Nadirshah appointed a contingent of Qizilbashas, sent Burhanul-mulk and Azimullahkhan to confiscate the property of the emperor, Khan-i-Dauran and other nobles and prepare for his coronation in the Delhi fort. Accordingly the two nobles with five thousand Qizilbashas went to Shahjahanabad and issued proclamation in the name of Nadirshah. This is the information collected till the 13th of Zihajja. Further news will be communicated to you later.

I am sure, a minute scrutiny of the Persian documents referred to above will enable a scholar to reap a rich harvest of valuable documents.

THE ANCESTORS OF THE RANI OF JHANSI

[By Mr. T. S. Shejwalkar, M.A.]

The reign of Chhatrapati Rajaram is chiefly noted for giving free scope and initiative to the various Maratha generals, captains and Collectors to establish their hold in any part of the Mughal dominion. Myriads of Maratha contingents accompanied by clever brahmin scribes spread over in various parts of the Deccan and carved out fields for themselves. Amongst these were two who ventured towards the North. Nemaji Shinde and Keso Trimal Pingle, brothers to the first Peshwa of Shivaji, penetrated through the forests and passes of the Satpuda range and crossing the Narmada, plundered up to Sironj, Kalabag, Mandasor and other places in Malwa. Keso Trimal had with him a Karhada Brahmin, named Chimnaji Damodar Moghe. Chimnaji established his hold as an agent of the Peshwa for collecting chauth in Khandesh. In course of time, he made Bahadarpura, in Central Khandesh, his residence. When Shahu returned to the Deccan from the camp of Azamshah in Malwa in 1707, Chimnaji was one of the first few men to see him and support his cause. He sided with Shahu in his fight against Tarabai and became his Rajaina or private secretary and collector of the crown lands. He was a particular friend of the Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath, supporting him in his work of settlement of the devastated lands in Maharashtra. Perhaps, he was a rival for the office of Peshwa and such could not pull on with Bajirao, whom he thought and addressed as a mere boy and raw inexperienced youth. He went over to Sambhaji of Kolhapur and acted as his Peshwa for some time but when Bajirao and Shahu defeated the party of Sambhaji supported by the Nizam-ul-mulk, he found himself in bad plight, having lost his old moorings and friendships. Still Shahu and Bajirao treated him kindly in his old age, when he was supporting himself as a kamavisdar of the Nizam in Khandesh. His old Jagirs and wealth had passed away, and he died a broken-hearted and repentant man, sometime in 1734-35.

Along with Chimnaji Damodar, some Karhada families, perhaps their relatives and certainly their depedants, came to Khandesh and settled with this pioneer family. Raghunathpant Nevalkar was one of them. He seems to have settled in Bahadarpura as a petty clerk. His sons, Kanderao and Damodar, followed him in the line. Damodar's three sons, Raghopant, Sadashiv and Hari, took to the profession of arms, in addition to their clerical pursuits. Raghopant was serving under Avaji Kavade, the chief lieutenant of the Peshwa Bajirao in Khandesh and Berar. He seems to have died in the campaign of Bassein on the west coast in 1737 or so. Sadashivpant, styled Dada by Haripant, served under Malharrao Holkar as a captain in his army, and also rented Mahals in Khandesh, Gujarat, and Malwa. He seems to have died about 1760-62, and his successors were later on styled Parolekar, because they permanently settled and continued to hold Parola, to the east of Bahadarpura. The youngest son Haripant was also a captain, but more inclined towards revenue and judicial matters. He became a favourite of the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao, *alias* Nanasaheb, and served under him and his son Madhavrao with zeal. As such, he became notable at the Poona court, built the fort of Parola and under its cover established a town which later on became the cultural centre of Khandesh. He died in 1765, of fever caught in his pursuit of and fight against the impostor (*totaya*) impersonating Sadashivrao Bhau, in the Satpudas. His sons, Raghunathrao and Shivrao went to Jhansi in Central India as the Peshwa's Subhadars, and thus became the forerunners of the famous Rani of Jhansi.

The life of the Rani of Jhansi, written (in Marathi) by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasni in 1894, gives a very short account of these ancestors in a

few pages. But Parasnis seems never to have visited Parola, and the genealogy given by him at the end of the book is incomplete and inaccurate. The information collected by him in Bundelkhand from many families was of a miscellaneous nature, not arranged in the form of a historical narrative. At present there is no member of the Nevalkar family in Parola, but a family the members of which acted as the managers of the family lands and income in the middle of the last century (about 1845-50), inherited a few old papers of the mid-eighteenth century. These papers are, for the most part, family-accounts, but they shed a necessary light on the position, condition and vicissitudes of the family, as well as the condition of Khandesh under the Peshwas. As the family of Chimnaji Damodar declined in importance, the family of Nevalkar took its place, possibly by transferring their allegiance, from the Dabhades and the Nizam, to the Peshwas and their Sardars. As already noted while Sadashiv Damodar, the elder brother, continued his activities in the North. Hari Damodar, the younger brother, managed the affairs from the court at Poona. He was kamavisdar of the Junnar subah in the beginning, and when Khandesh came into Peshwa's hands by the gift of Ghazi-ud-din, the eldest son of the great Nizam, in 1752, Hari Damodar became the collector of the Districts in Central and Western Khandesh, directly under the Peshwa and Holkar. From the accounts it seems that the family held four villages as inam and the present Talukas of Nandurbar, Navapur, Shahada, S'ndkheda and Talode, as collectors, and had thus to account for lakhs of government revenue annually, from which they must have derived a substantial income. Their wealth can be guessed from the amount they spent in celebrating the marriage of a daughter in 1754.

They spent about Rs. 20,000 in cloth and 16,000 cash for the occasion in a week's time, an amount which is as big as a Sardar spent in those days. The marriage account, written in detail and covering some 170 pages, sheds a powerful light on the society as constituted in those days. As the Moghe and Nevalkar families were Karhada Brahmins from the mid-Ratnagiri district, similarly their new relatives belonged to an equally substantial and well-placed Karhada family, settled somewhere in Berar. This account points the way to the migration of the Karhada Brahmin families from Konkan to Bundelkhand, Khandesh and Berar, serving as the stepping stones for migration towards further North. In the family accounts of the Nevalkars, names of more than fifty Karhada families in various walks of life occur. Some followed the priestly profession, the majority were clerks and Government officers, while others were serving as personal household servants in various capacities. Very few of these families are to be found in Khandesh now, from which we can say that they dispersed elsewhere. The social structure in those days mainly followed on caste lines, and regions in various parts of the Maratha dominion were colonized by different castes. As one family in a particular caste rose in position, its relatives, acquaintances and dependants, who mainly belonged to the same caste, followed in the wake. Raghunath Hari, the eldest son of Hari Damodar, was appointed as Subahdar and Kamavisdar of Jhansi by Madhavrao in 1769, and this began the transfer of the family to that place. The elder branch of Sadashivpant Dada continued in Parola and were generally known as Parolekar, while Haripant's descendants, one member of which generally lived in Parola to look after the half share, came to be styled as Jhansiwale.

As Raghunath Hari, the Subahdar of Jhansi, died without a son in 1795, his brother Shivarao succeeded him and continued to rule till 1816. Shivarao's grandson and two younger sons continued the line till 1853, when the state lapsed under Dalhousie. Laksinibai, the widow of Gangadharrao the youngest son, made a name for herself in the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-58, and is known as the Rani of Jhansi in Indian History.

The members of this family, before proceeding to Jhansi, served as Diwans to Avaji Kavade (Sardar of Bajirao), and his son Mahipatrao. Raghunath Damodar is found mentioned as serving under Avaji in 1735. He was with Avaji Kavade in the Bassein campaign, in charge of fort Tandulwadi in 1737, and seems to have died soon after in some unnoted battle. Sadashiv and Hari were working in Khandesh and Berar during Bajirao's time, and had not yet established their connection at Poona, as lands in various parts of the Mughal dominion had been assigned to different Sardars by Shahu. New candidates had always to connect themselves with these Sardars and that way get into the vortex of Maratha policy. Sadashiv tried to have a footing in Malwa through the medium of Fattasing Bhonsle. He took it upon himself to serve with 10,000 troops, equipped and financed by himself, in the regions beyond the Narmada, and pay the profit from the expedition, after deducting all expenses, to Fattasing Bhonsle. This offer was accepted by Fattasing, who issued charters in the connection, but Purandare the Diwan of the Peshwas, seems to have cut the project short, by circulating instructions amongst the bankers of Poona, not to advance money to Sadashiv! Sadashiv was in the good books of Malharji Holkar and Avaji Kavade, but was still unknown to Purandare nor were his whereabouts known in Poona! This machination shows the tenor of Peshwa policy, in not allowing any one as a possible competitor in their field. This was under Bajirao and Chimaji Appa. (P. D. XVI 51 and 119)! Afterwards Chimaji won over Sadashiv and appointed him under Malharrao Holkar, and in 1733 he seems rated superior to Gangoba Chandrachud, who afterwards became Holkar's Diwan.

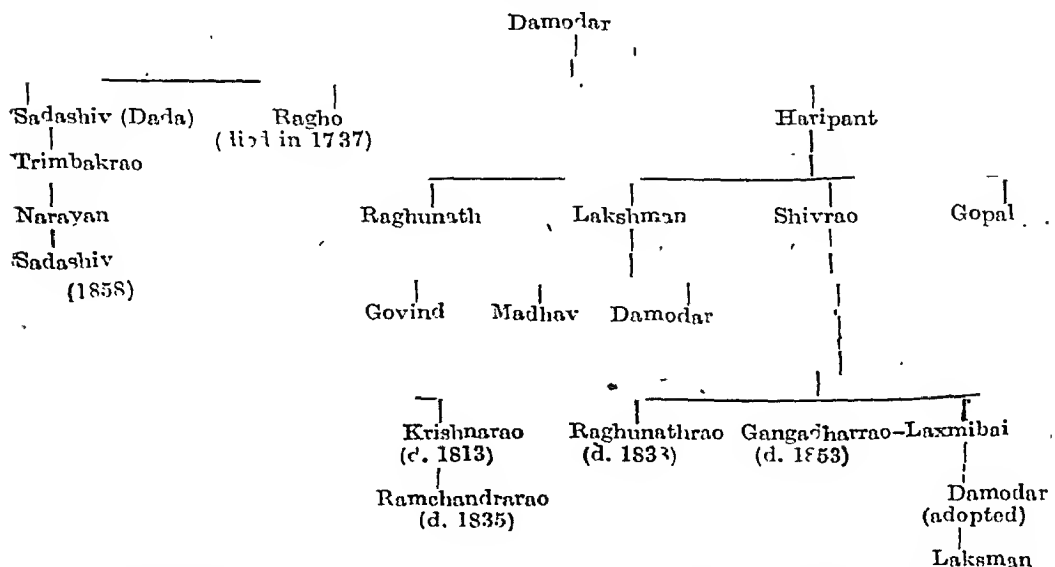
In 1738, he had a separate company serving under him (P. D. 30-179. 364. 371). In 1746 Sadashiv served with distinction in the company of Holkar and Shinde, at the siege of Jetpur in Bundelkhand, and was specially congratulated by the Peshwa Nanasahab. Like other captains of those days, he also rented *Mahals* in Malwa, Gujrat and Khandesh. *Parganah* Chanderi was under him in 1755. His brother Hari sought his fortune by serving directly under the Peshwa, in both civil and military capacities. He established himself in the confidence of the Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao *alias* Nanasahab, by taking his side in the dispute with Tarabai and her protégé, Damaji Gaikwad. As a reward, he was given charge of the districts in Central Khandesh, taken over from the Nizam. He went on a pilgrimage to Benares in 1752, and the large retinue which followed him bears witness to his position and opulence. He served in the campaign against Tulaji Angria in the Ratnagiri District, and one member of the Nevalkar family seems to have established himself at Vijaydurg in some civil capacity. Haripant was often appointed as the adjudicator of disputes in the Peshwa's dominions. When new districts were added to the Peshwa's dominions, in 1758 and 1760, at the cost of the Nizam he is found acting as the Settlement Commissioner on the banks of the Godavari. Building new temples or repairing old ones, assigning incomes to Brahmins and establishing them in the various places of pilgrimage, and such other work in connection with the revival of Hinduism in the restwhile Muslim territories, were given in charge of Hari Damodar by the Peshwa. He seems to be present in the Peshwa's camp at the time of his second marriage, in December, 1760. After Panipat, the family seems to have declined in wealth in the civil war between Raghunathrao and Madavrao, as the territories in the Nizam's dominions frequently changed hands. Raghunathrao appointed his favourites, like Chinto Vithal Ravarikar to the Parganas in Khandesh, and this fact also affected the fortunes of the family.

I have collected all the available references about Hari and Sadashiv Damodar, Raghunathrao, as well as other members of the family, which will appear as small separate biographies in due course. As they are not based on the material in hand, I will pass these over. The family, from the very

first, seems very cultured. Hari Damodar was noted for his wisdom. He made Parola the cultural centre of Khandesh in his days. The fort, and the town under its cover, are still worth a visit for their military and civil remains. Lying as it does in Central Khandesh along the road leading from Poona to Indore, Jhansi and Gwalior, it was on the high road of civilization in the 18th century. Bankers, merchants and artisans flocked under the mild administration and benevolent care of the family. The remains of buildings with their carved wooden facades, now in ruins, bespeak of former wealth and glory. It is still a considerable town, noted for artistic weaving and dyeing. The streets in the small walled town are straight, unlike those in other mediaeval towns, and the geographical situation is also well-chosen and charming. Unfortunately, the town after the first 25 years or so of its existence, found itself engulfed in the family feuds of the Peshwa and other Maratha Sardars, and declined. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, it suffered successively at the hands of Yashwantrao Holkar, the Pindaris, and innumerable local rebels. The later members of the family are found shedding tears over its former glory and bemoaning their lot.

When a branch of the family transferred itself to Jhansi, they made that town also a similar centre. Unfortunately they had to be engaged in incessant fighting in the terrible anarchy subsisting in those regions, and could achieve comparatively little. Still Raghunath Hari is noted in history as probably the first Maratha who took to English learning and progressive ways of life. He had secured a copy of the Encyclopaedia Britannica and begun experiments in electricity with the crude instruments of those days. He introduced European vegetables like potatoes, cabbages, lettuce and celery; and had a drawing room with chairs and tables after the English fashion. Unfortunately, he seems to have suffered from some stomach ailment, and though treated by English doctors from Cawnpore, had to end his suffering by drowning himself in the Ganges at the age of sixty or so. His brother Shivarao was also a progressive ruler for his times, adapting himself to the changed circumstances of the early British rule in India in an admirable manner.

I now add a corrected genealogy of the family from the papers, as it differs considerably from that given by Parasnis in his book.



I have gone over the new papers, mostly family accounts, which have fallen into my hands, and come to form certain opinions on the social structure

of Khandesh in the 18th century. Muslims had established themselves firmly in this region and their importance is found reflected in the army. About 40 per cent. of the militia serving under this family is Pathan or Muslim; some 35 per cent. is North Indian or Rajput, possibly settled in the province; and only about 25 per cent. looks like Marathas living in Khandesh or outside! This heterogeneity is found reflected in the composite population of Khandesh even at present. Khandesh is a meeting place of three or four racial currents, situated as it is at a corner of Maharashtra. Marathas, Gujarat cultivators and traders, Kanoja Brahmins and Rajput warriors, Pathans and Arabs, have all settled themselves in this region of Bhils, Kolis and other wild tribes. There is no intensive national tone to be found in the population of this region. Karhada Brahmins seem more adaptive than their Konkan neighbours, the Chitpavans, when settling in foreign lands. Anyway, the experience gained by the Nevalkar family in Khandesh, seems to have stood them in good stead, when dealing with the Bundelas round about Jhansi. Aurangabad was the cultured city of those days, and higher families in Khandesh had to import all higher things from it. The personal names, found amongst the male and female servants of the family, are in many cases different from similar names in other parts of Maharashtra, which naturally points to a different origin. The economic ruin worked in the first quarter of the nineteenth century is reflected in other papers. The intimate personal correspondence of Brahamaji Dada Thanage, and a woman, Narangi, in the second quarter of the 19th century, throws a powerful light on the declining fortunes of the Marathas, in the regions between Khandesh and Berar on one side, and Panipat and Delhi on the other. I hope to publish these papers properly edited as soon as possible.

THREE PERSIAN DOCUMENTS CONCERNING BAGLANA (BAGLAN) IN KHANDESH.

[By Dr. M. A. Chaghtai, M.A., D.Litt. (Paris).]

The Persian documents described below have not, to my knowledge, so far received the attention of historians. About eight years ago they were given to us by a learned friend for decipherment. They cover seventeen leaves which are in the form of blue prints and each of them measures about $6\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. They are taken from the original copper plates on which the Persian text is engraved. The engraver seems quite ignorant of the Persian language because in many places the text, which is engraved in a very ordinary readable handwriting, is very defective. We think that the texts of the documents were issued on official court paper and with a view to the preservation of the documents they were engraved on copper plates by the descendants of the grantees.

The first document is a farman which extends over nine plates four of which cover the text of the farman of Aurangzeb Alamgir in favour of one Muhammad Murad, a convert. It bears on its top the *tughra* of the name and insignia of Aurangzeb Alamgir and on its right hand is a large square seal with the names of his forefathers, emperors of India, in small circles round a central circle in which the name and insignia of the same emperor are noted. The other five plates of this farman bear the actual procedure of the grant of the farman and other necessary endorsements, etc. The second document, which consists of five plates, is a *parwana* having the text and the usual *tal'liqa* (gist). The third document is also a *parwana* and covers only three plates. It looks incomplete because parts of the text after the second and the third plates seem missing and the sequence is not very clear.

All the three documents are in favour of the sons or descendants of one Mukandji of the town of Baglana within the jurisdiction of the province of Khandesh, who held the office of Deshmukhi¹ and Qanungoi² of the said town. From these documents and other sources the historical importance of Baglana as well as of the family mentioned therein is obvious.

We have not been able to trace from any source any of the persons noted in these documents in whose favour the grants were made. Muhammad Murad *alias* Waukar Rao, son of Mukandji noted in these documents, had embraced Islam and similarly another member named Bairam son of Bahharji had embraced Islam as noted above. It looks that this family consisted of a large number of members who had spread all over Khandesh and many of whom held good positions.

Only the first farman is dated and the other two documents are not dated. However, we can presume from the facts mentioned in the documents that the second document was granted after the farman and the third was granted or revised during the 13th regnal year of the reign of Muhammad Shah when Nizamul-Mulk I

honoured with this position.

Free Translation of the Farman (Mandate):—

Allah is Great.

The Farman of Abu'z-Zaffar Muhammad Mohi'ud-Din
Alangir Badshah Ghazi.

At this moment the auspicious farman is issued to the effect that the office of the Deshmukhi of the Sarkar Baglana being annexed to the province of Khandesh, after the demise of Mukandji, is assigned to and given in the charge of his son Muhammad Murad, a convert to Islam, from the beginning of the spring harvest. He has discharged his duties as required quite strictly in accordance with the order, by which he has pleased his subjects and fulfilled their hearts' desires. It is, therefore, necessary that the superior officers, tax-gatherers, land-holders, lower officers of the state, both present and future, should endeavour to carry out and establish this exalted command and should regard him the Deshmukhi of the said sarkar. No other person except him should be recognised in his place. Head-men of the villages, tenants, bankers, merchants, creditors, and residents of all ranks of the said sarkar Baglana at this moment should work together for the economic betterment of the said sarkar, and the enjoyment of life. They should not go out of their way. All requisites of the Deshmukhi in accordance with the established practice should be observed. The said Deshmukhi should treat people well, conciliate them, and listen patiently even to their pettiest grievances. Due regard is to be paid to their wishes while dividing agricultural land or advancing loans for cultivation and building purposes. Strife should be avoided. Forgery and transgression should not be allowed. From the subjects and the lower people no excess charges, beyond the current old law, are to be extracted; no greed should be practised and no false hopes held out. The register of the establishment of the Deshmukhi be recorded properly. Its present registers, showing the amount received from the government share of the produce of the soil and other sources of the said sarkar along with the adjustment corresponding to each village of the district, the revenue of the land-holders according to custom and other sources exclusive of land, be credited from year to year to the head office of the Dewan of the province. In this respect stress is laid on this matter. Written on 9th Muharram, the 27th regnal year (28 December 1683).

The procedure of the grant of this farman is as follows:

It was forwarded through the Prince on 22nd Farwardi of the Mah-i-Ilahi of the 26th regnal year, on Sunday, according to the 9th of the month of Safar, year 1094 A.H. (7 February 1683 A.D.), in accordance with the attestation of Bahramand Khan,³ under-secretary to Nawab Asad Khan,⁴ the Prime Minister, which is dated 19th Shawwal of the same regnal year. He reported the matter according to the report of the chronicler thus:—The grant of the farman conferring the office of the Deshmukhi of the Sarkar of Baglana upon the convert, who has embraced Islam, is on the condition that he willingly agrees to a *peshkash* (a tribute to the ruling power on receiving an appointment or an assignment) of rupees twenty-five thousand to the exalted government. The auspicious farman, which was formerly granted before the accession (of the present monarch) concerning the said office, was in the name of Mukandji. As the convert (being the son of Mukandji) holds that farman, therefore out of respect for Islam the order had been issued to the effect that in the meantime from the spring harvest the farman empowers him to carry on the government business with all necessary requisites appertaining to this office and no transgression should be exercised. The report of the humble Muhammad Husain, the chronicler, was brought to the notice of the Prince Shah Alam through the

endorsement of the Nawab Asad Khan, the Prime Minister, in the form of a *parwana* bearing the seal of Amanat Khan,⁵ the Dewan of the provinces of the Deccan. This report sought the royal approval for the grant of this farman in the name of Muhammad Murad, a convert to Islam, *alias* Wankar Rao, son of Mukandji, concerning the office of the Deshmukhi of the sarkar of Baglana being received in the head office with the following particulars which are preserved in the *parwana*. It was again on 10th Sha'ban of the 26th regnal year when Lutfullah Khan submitted that the farman was originally drafted by Bahramand Khan and a *parwana* under the seal of Amanat Khan bestowing the office of the Deshmukhi in accordance with the terms of the farman was issued to Mukandji, the father of Muhammad Murad, *alias* Wankar Rao, but for some years Rudra and Abadar [?] have interfered. In these circumstances it has become necessary for the government to accept the *peshkash* of rupees twenty-five thousand, and it has been settled that the sum of rupees three thousand be paid from year to year to the royal treasury as instalments of the said *peshkash*: The auspicious command had been issued to the effect that the office of Deshmukhi of Sarkar Baglana is assigned to Muhammad Murad and the farman has been handed over to him. It is dated 19th Jumada II, of the 27th regnal year (4 June, 1684 A.D.).

Free Translation of the Second Document.

The present and future officers, village head-men, merchants and the public of the sarkar of Baglana within the jurisdiction of the province of Khandesh, should know that the office of the Deshmukhi and Qanungoi, having five out of six shares of the whole of the said sarkar after the demise of Mahadev, Jagdish, Nilkanth, and Nahar [?] Partap, in compliance with the order, is granted to Dalpat, Muhip and other, the descendants of the five sons of Mukandji, from the next harvest [?] and it has been duly registered according to the royal sanad. The principle of granting *rasum* (commission) and *in'am* (grant of rent-free land, etc.) is an old custom and is specified in the sanad. Therefore it is written that both of them (Dalpat and Muhip) should regard themselves permanent Deshmukhi and Qanungo of the said sarkar, provided they are sincere for the betterment of the public, observe the principle of commission and grant of rent-free land, and carry out their office quite satisfactorily. In this respect particular attention is drawn.

The Gist of the Parwana.

Rasina[?] Gahna, the wakil of Dalpat, Muhip and others petitioned that five out of six shares of the Deshmukhi and Qanungoi of the sarkar Baglana within the province of Khandesh, through the wakil, be assigned. He, by the grace and generosity of Almighty God, is hopeful that the sanad for the commission and rent-free land, etc., in accordance with the attestation of Shaikh Mir, Hajji Abdulla, Sayyid Hasan and Muhammad Jafar will be handed over.

After this on the last two plates, the details of commission and rent-free land, are fully noted.

Free Translation of the Third Document.

The present and future officers of the sarkar of Baglana within the jurisdiction of the province of Khandesh should know that in compliance with the order, the office of the Deshmukhi and Qanungoi having five out of six shares in all of the whole of the said sarkar in accordance with the sanad of Nizam-ul-Mulk⁶ Fath Jang Sipahi Salar Asafjah and Asalat Khan,⁷ the Dewan of the provinces

of the Deccan issued during the thirteenth (13th) regnal yēār, has been granted to Dalpat, Muhip and others, the descendants of the five sons of Mukandji after the demise of Mhadāy, Jagdish, Nilkanth and Nahar[?] Partap. They both (Dalpat and Muhip) agree to a *peshkash* of rupees forty-six thousand six hundred twenty-six and annas ten (Rs. 46,626-10-0) for the same— (here the text is not complete).

1. *Deshmukh* is a hereditary officer exercising chief police and revenue authority over a district and responsible for the revenue, holding rent-free lands and being entitled to the various fees and allowances.

2. *Qanungo*:—An expounder of the law, but applied in Hindustan especially to village and district revenue officers, who recorded all circumstances within their sphere concerning landed property and the realisation of the revenue, keeping of registers of the value, tenure, extent and transfers of lands, reporting deaths and successions of revenue-payers, and explaining, when required, local practices and public regulations; they were paid by rent-free lands and various allowances and perquisites.

3. *Ma'athir ul-Umara* Vol. II, pp. 454-57.

4. *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 310-21.

5. „ Vol. I, pp. 258-62.

7. „ Vol. III.

7. „ Vol. II, pp. 222-29.

THE EARLY PHASE OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE BARBHAIS AND RAGHUNATH RAO

[By Mr. V. S. Chitale, M.A., B.T.].

Immediately after the foul murder of the Peshwa Narayana Rao, Raghunath Rao was proclaimed the Peshwa. He was not unmindful of the circumstances which made his government most unstable. The new Peshwa knew that the enemies of the Marathas would endeavour to take advantage of the fresh opportunities that had been offered them by the murder of the Peshwa and that they would thus profit themselves by making fresh inroads into the Maratha territory. The Nizam who had made some secret agreement with Sabaji Bhonsale, had begun to mobilize his forces and had taken the field. Raghunath Rao, at the intelligence of the movements of the Nizam, marched against him with an army of about 40,000 troops, defeated him at Bidar and forced him to sign a treaty on December 9, 1773.

While Raghunath Rao was on his move against the Nizam, Sakharam Bapu, the leader of the future 'Barbhai Scheme', sought and secured the permission of Raghunath Rao to leave the camp, on the pretext of ill-health. Nana Phadnis and others joined him later. But while in the camp of Raghunath Rao, Bapu, Nana Phadnis, Trimbakrao Pethe, Haripant Phadke and Morobaalada had secretly formulated a scheme to overthrow the new government under Raghunath Rao and set up a new one in its stead. When all the prominent leaders except Trimbakrao Pethe (who was sent against Sabaji Bhonsale by Raghunath Rao) returned to Poona, the 'Barbhai plot' came into being to protect and save the life of Gangabai, the widowed wife of the murdered Peshwa, to set up a new government in her name and when she gave birth to a son, to invest the newly-born child with the Peshwaship. Raghunath Rao had not the slightest knowledge of these secret happenings in Poona, in their early stage.

Trimbakrao Pethe who had been despatched by Raghunath Rao on November 1, 1773, with 10,000 horses and some artillery to subdue Sabaji Bhonsale, had a different motive. The Barbhais, depending upon his full acquiescence, appointed him as the commander of their forces and showed their willingness to supply him with all possible help, necessary to win a battle against Raghunath Rao. Trimbakrao who was never a partisan of Raghunath Rao and who had sincerely supported the claims of the sons of the Peshwa Nanasaheb, must have shown his genuine desire to help those that had banded themselves together to overthrow the government under Raghunath Rao and establish another which would heighten the glory of the Peshwa's family and increase the prestige of the Maratha nation. So setting aside all his differences with Sakharam Bapu, he completely identified himself with the cause espoused by Bapu, in whose leadership and statesmanship he now began to have perfect confidence. Inspired with high ideas and noble ideals, Trimbakrao marched against Sabaji, and was determined to do his best to win him over to achieve success in the new cause, of which he was now one of the leading promoters. In the meanwhile, not doubting the loyalty of Trimbakrao, Raghunath Rao wrote to him that he should endeavour to settle matters amicably with Sabaji and induce the latter to join the Peshwa against the Nizam¹, but that, if Sabaji persisted in the destruction of the country he should be overpowered. Sabaji at this time wrote to Trimbakrao that he was ready to effect a compromise with the latter² and gladly accept from him such terms as would become Sabaji's status and rank. But Sabaji threw overboard the various offers by Trimbakrao, and persistently declared that he would even die to secure the rank of Sena Sahab Subha; and

¹. S. P. D. XXXVI, 11.

². Khare V, 131.

that if he were not invested with that title he would devastate the Peshwa's territory and die fighting with those that opposed him³. Trimbakrao never lost heart; he repeatedly tried to effect a compromise with Sabaji Bhonsale, and was ultimately successful. Trimbakrao acted with great caution and prudence, and impressed upon the mind of Sabaji that a stubborn attitude in the critical times was not advisable. Trimbakrao found in Sabaji a straight-forward, loyal and brave soldier, who agreed to uphold the cause of the Barbhais and render them every possible help against Raghunathrao⁴. Thus a compromise between Sabaji and Trimbakrao was effected by the end of January, 1774. Immediately after this, Trimbakrao and Sabaji proceeded towards the south to oppose Raghunathrao, against whom the Barbhais had now openly declared war.⁵

At this time, Daryabai who had taken leave of Raghunathrao, left his camp with Raghuji and was wending her way towards Nagpur with an army of about 8,000 troops. When Trimbakrao got intelligence of her movements, he requested her to see him and promised her that he would endeavour to effect a compromise between her and Sabaji Bhonsale. Trimbakrao very wisely and skilfully made Sabaji and Daryabai work together for a common cause. The following documents, unpublished as yet, will throw much light on the attempts made by Trimbakrao to yoke together Sabaji and Daryabai. One Laxman Ballal Joshi writes to Baburao Vaidya from Nanded on February 2, 1774. "Haripant wrote that Trimbakraomama should hurry up and march immediately. But in the mean-while, Daryabai and Raghuji left the camp (of Raghunathrao) and were proceeding towards Berar. Trimbakraomama opened negotiations with her intending a settlement with her. Trimbakraomama was in a fix. Should he allow her to proceed further with an army of 8,000 troops (for her loyalty to the Barbhais was questionable). But being prudent, he explained to her the whole situation and requested her to accompany him. At this, she took an oath of allegiance, and agreed to march in his company. Had she proceeded towards Berar, it would have meant a new danger. Let His will be done. I showed her the letters from Tatya and Nana, and also a copy of the agreement; at which she seemed to have been much pleased; and she said that Tatya and Nana had really saved the Government. Devajipant who is with Trimbakrao has promised perfect allegiance; and was pleased to see perfect unity between Bapu and Nana⁶." Krishnarao Narayan Joshi writing on February 19, 1774, from the Varaval camp, states, "Trimbakrao, Sabaji and Daryabai are advancing with the troops. The road was stony and the artillery could not be moved with good speed; the army had consequently to encamp at Khandar. When the artillery arrives, we shall break the camp, and proceed in the direction of Tuljapur. Daryabai is in the camp, with 8,000 troops. Her presence is of no use, and is simply burdensome; yet there is no alternative but to allow her to accompany. Trimbakrao is all attention and affection, and has promised to retain to Raghuji the seven letters सैना सहज समा if she shows complete loyalty and acts with proper consideration; if, on the contrary, she acts otherwise, he would not hesitate to punish her. But Daryabai appears to be honest and sincere. Trimbakrao is also on good terms with Sabaji. In the meanwhile, Daryabai learnt that orders granting the office of Sena Sahab Subha had been issued in the name of Sabaji; so she bluntly asked Trimbakrao to explain the matter to her. Trimbakrao then asked her if she had no confidence in him; then, in that case, he asked her to depend upon him, and not to be anxious about the thing as he himself was in possession of the orders. Daryabai was then satisfied. Trimbakrao then summoned us and asked us whether the orders had not been shown to Sabaji. We replied that it was as good to have shown

³. S. P. D. V, 5.

⁴. S. P. D. V, 12.

⁵. Mostyn, page 314.

⁶. Unpublished Vaidya Daftar.

these orders as not to have done so; that Bapu and Nana had ordered us to show them to Sabaji, and then keep them with us; that Trimbakrao might show them to him if he so desired; that the only thing about which care was to be taken in that respect was that Sabaji should be satisfied and kept pleased. Trimbakrao then ordered us to show the papers to Sabaji, and we agreed to do so. But then he again asked us to hand over the papers to him, and said that he would satisfy Daryabai by telling her that the papers were with him; and then he ordered us not to address Sabaji as Sena Saheb Subha, and to hand over to him the Sicca and Kattyar. We obeyed, but retorted that our master (Sabaji) would take it much to his heart. We suspect that Trimbakraomama is now completely under the sway of Devajipant⁷. These lengthy extracts will show how difficult it was for Trimbakrao to keep both Daryabai and Sabaji pleased. It also discloses how Bapu's orders made his position awkward. But even so, Trimbakrao faced the situation, and succeeded somehow in effecting a compromise between Sabaji and Daryabai.⁸

Trimbakrao, after he had won over Sabaji and Daryabai, tried to secure the help of the Nizam. Bapu had already opened negotiations with him, and he had made Trimbakrao's work in that respect easy. Yadav Moreshwar and Dhondo Mahadeo wrote on February 7, 1774 to Nana Phadnis, "We have been friendly with Nabal Sherjang⁹ for a long time; and the friendship has been greatly increased since the formation of the League and the removal of the ladies to Purandar. If Nizam Alikhan turns friendly to us as well, and if he does not side with Raghunathrao, it would be a great advantage to us. Even if the Nizam is dissuaded from falling in line with us, Sherjang is determined to see to it that the Nizam is won over to recognise the new Government and offer it effective succour. If you have not already written to the Nizam to establish friendly relations with us, you, Bapu and Morobadada should immediately write to Sherjang to the effect that as friendly relations do exist between us for a long time, he should kindly arrange to persuade the Nizam to make a friendly alliance with us. You should also write to the Nizam requesting him that he should be friendly to us, and mentioning that Sherjang would explain everything to him. On your doing so, Sherjang would himself meet the Nizam. He told me that Shrimant Raghunathrao had crossed the Tungabhadra; and that, if Trimbakrao and Sabaji are trying to meet the Nizam with a view to requesting him to join them, so far so good."¹⁰ This document shows that Sherjang was in close friendship with the Barbhais, and that he was ready not only to help them but to persuade the Nizam to join them against Raghunathrao. In the meantime, Devajipant Chorghode was despatched to Ibrahimkhan Dhausha to persuade the Nizam to join Trimbakrao.¹¹ On March 5, Trimbakrao met the Nizam at Gunjoti¹²; and the Nizam perfectly agreed to support the Barbhais in overthrowing the Government of Raghunathrao. Trimbakrao has therefore to be complimented not only on the tact and prudence with which he reconciled Sabaji and Daryabai but also on having furthered the cause of the Barbhais by

⁷. *Ibid.*

⁸. S. P. D. V, 25, 26, 29, 36, and S. P. D. XXXVI, 23, 24, 33

⁹. Sherjang, otherwise called Haidar Yarkhan, was the revenue minister of Salabatjung in 1753. He was often known as Wakil-i-Mutlag and outshone in his work Basalutjung. Sherjang opposed Nizam Ali's succession and was out of his favour. He went to the Peshwa's protection and lived at Poona for two years (1761-63). Later Nizam Ali's Diwan Ruckn-ud-daulah interceded and recalled him from Poona to Hyderabad. He was appointed to the Subah of Aurangabad, a post which he held to his death in 1775, when he was 78 years old. The Nizam's affairs with the Poona court were practically conducted by Sherjang between 1763 and 1775. He was responsible for bringing about a lasting friendship between the two courts of Poona and Hyderabad.

¹⁰. Alienation Office Records.

¹¹. Rajwade X, 98.

¹². Rajwade X, 98, 100, 102.

keeping the North and the East free from any trouble; for, otherwise, Daryabai and the Nizam would have caused the greatest trouble in these quarters; and the Barbhais would have been forced to fight on two-or three fronts, a contingency for which they were not at all prepared.

Raghunathrao, who was engaged in a sham fight with Haidar, was much worried about the activities of the Barbhais in Poona; for, early in February, he got news that some secret league had been formed against him with the avowed aim of overthrowing him and his government. At this news, he was greatly alarmed, and felt anxious about his fate. His condition was precarious. He had lost all confidence in himself. The army was out of control. The 'Sawkars' refused to pay him debts; and thus his treasury was empty. Under these circumstances, he made a most ignominious treaty with Haider, and then requested Murar Rao Ghorpade to assist him; but the latter showed his unwillingness to join him. Haidar also followed suit. Raghunathrao now lost all hope, and desired to win over Trimbakrao, Sabaji and the Nizam to his side by promising them whatever they wanted.

In reply to Raghunathrao's request Trimbakrao wrote to him, "I am not your servant; although I served you in good faith and most loyally and faithfully, I was slighted and insulted by you. My honest services are richly rewarded by you! I have, therefore, decided not to serve you in future. Sabaji, Bhonsale and Daryabai are one with me; and we have agreed to act in any way we like, and not to obey your orders¹³." This straight-forward and plain answer must have disheartened Raghunathrao; but even then he did not lose courage. He held out various allurements to Sabaji,¹⁴ who showed all Raghunathrao's letters to Trimbakrao; and in consultation with him wrote to Raghunathrao that he would not accept his offers.¹⁵

The Nizam also turned a deaf ear to the requests of Raghunathrao. In that connection the following document will be very useful. The news-letter, dated February 19, 1774, says: "Shrimant has retreated to Bellary and intends to march in the direction of Poona, from which place news was brought to him that something was amiss there. In the meanwhile, Appaji Ram, Haidar's Vakeel, met him, and requested him not to proceed further as Haider wanted to negotiate with Raghunathrao and pay him ransome. So the Shrimant halted. At the same time, Dhondo Ram received letters from the Shrimant, purporting to say that the treaty signed by him with the Nizam at Bidar should in any case stand, and that the Nizam and Ruckn-ud-daulah should not make common cause with the conspirators at Poona, who with false assurances might allure him to their cause; and that the Nizam should directly communicate to him if he desired that his further demands should be satisfied; that Dhondo Ram was a most loyal servant on whom he depended in the straitened circumstances for help and advice. The Shrimant has even despatched Abaji Mahadeo to Dhondo Ram, with letters to be handed over to the Nizam and Ruckn-ud-daulah. When the Nizam read the letters, he said; 'Has your Shrimant ever kept his promises and maintained friendly relations with us? Even after the treaty of Bidar, he advanced towards the Panch-Mahals and Gulburga and plundered the whole territory. Beed and Pathari were plundered and devastated by Sabaji and Trimbakraomama. Mudhoji Bhonsale ransacked the territory adjoining the Pine Ghat. This is how the treaty of Bidar was respected! The friendly alliance with Madhavrao was never respected by that Peshwa in any way during the last ten years. Under these circumstances how does your Shrimant expect help from us? For our captains and lieutenants, whose territory has been

¹³. Alienation Office Records.

¹⁴. Rajwade X. 91, 95, 96 and Aiti. Patravvyavahar, 140.

¹⁵. Rajwade X, 96 and Alienation Office Records.

ravaged, are dissatisfied; and we also share their feelings, and are of opinion that we should offer no help to your Shrimant. Supposing we give him some assistance, what guarantee is there that our territory will not be molested and devastated either by Trimbakrao or Sabaji? Your Shrimant should protect his own kingdom; we are ready to assist a person who is able to save his own kingdom. We doubt very much whether your Shrimant would ever do so; for his ways of behaviour seem to be unnatural. He has no ministers; on whom should we rely? His nature is vacillating; for he means one thing and says another! How can we place our trust in him?' The Nizam then wrote to Shrimant that he was proceeding towards Tuljapur either to threaten or drive Trimbakrao and Sabaji out of his territory; and that the Nizam would then meet him (the writer of the letter) to discuss matters. But I do not think that the Nizam is quite keen on helping the Shrimant; for he is simply playing with words. Let us see how the events shape themselves in future. I learn that the Shrimant is now urging Murar Rao; but he has refused to cross the Krishna on any account. I also learn that there is a lot of defection in the army of the Shrimant, and that Vamanrao and Bhavanrao are secretly supporting the Barbhais. To-day the Nizam is proceeding towards Gulburga by the banks of Bhima and is thinking of meeting Trimbakrao and Sabaji.¹⁶" In another letter the same writer wrote as follows:—"On February 22, Raghunathrao wrote to Ruckn-ud-daulah from Raidurg, requesting him and the Nizam not to move further, as he meant to meet and help them to defeat and drive out Trimbakrao and Sabaji who were ravaging their territory; and that, when they were successful, they would both advance towards Poona and punish the conspirators. Ruckn-ud-daulah, however, replied that Trimbakrao and Sabaji were ravaging the territory in the vicinity of Nanded, and that many captains were eager to drive them out of our territory. The Nizam is, therefore, proceeding towards them with the same desire. But I think that Ruckn-ud-daulah does not want to disclose his designs until he meets Trimbakrao and Sabaji.¹⁶" These lengthy extracts show how helpless Raghunathrao was. He tried to secure help from every quarter; but with no response. Raghunathrao was now marching in the direction of Miraj; and on his way, he plundered and devastated the territory belonging to the Rastes and the Patwardhans¹⁷. From Miraj Raghunathrao wanted to march along the banks of the Krishna to Satara, intending to capture the Satara fort and to get the Chhatrapati under his control. The news startled the Barbhais; and so Trimbakrao despatched Haripant Phadke to Satara, and asked him to save the situation, and to see to it that the Raja did not fall into the clutches of Raghunathrao. When Raghunathrao reached Miraj, he halted there for a few days; but he got intelligence that Trimbakrao and Sabaji were advancing in his direction with great speed, closely followed by the Nizam. This news forced Raghunathrao to give up his original plans, and change his direction towards Pandharpur. On March 26, 1774, an engagement was fought at Kasegaon, near Pandharpur, and unfortunately for the Barbhais, Trimbakrao was captured wounded; and thus Raghunathrao gained a victory. This closes the first phase of the struggle between the Barbhais and Raghunathrao.

¹⁶. Alienation Office Records (unpublished).

¹⁷. Khare V, 1343, 1345.

LORD CORNWALLIS AND THE NIZAM'S CLAIM TO KURNOOL

[By Mr. M. H. Khan, B.A. (Hons.), London]

Kurnool originally formed part of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. It afterwards became a province of Bijapur and later Aurangzeb gave it to a Pathan family for military service. With the decline of the Mughal Empire, Kurnool became a tributary of the Nizams and it remained under them until about 1765 when Haidar Ali invaded it and compelled its ruler Ranmust Khan to pay him tribute and recognise his suzerainty¹. After the Peace of Seringapatam (March 16, 1792), however, the Nizam revived his claim to Kurnool on the ground that it had been once under him and when Tipu demanded his arrears of tribute from Ranmust Khan he decided to intervene.

Shortly after the Treaty of Seringapatam was signed, the Nizam sent two persons to Fort St. George to negotiate with Tipu Sultan's Vakils for the surrender of Kurnool and secure English diplomatic, and if necessary, military assistance in the matter². But Cornwallis instructed the Government of Madras to "remain neutral and take no concern whatever in any negotiations upon that subject between the Nizam's deputies and Tippoo's vakeels"³. At the same time he advised the Nizam not to concern himself with the affairs of Kurnool. Ranmust Khan, he pointed out, did not deserve any sympathy for he had been hostile to the allies in the Third Anglo-Mysore War. Even when the allies had succeeded in establishing their military superiority and their victory had become certain, Ranmust Khan had not changed his attitude. He had not furnished the allies grain and horses which he had promised and had allowed a news-writer of Tipu Sultan, inspite of the Nizam's remonstrances, to reside in his kingdom⁴.

As regards the Nizam's contention that Kurnool should be restored to him as it was a military fief granted by the Subedar of the Deccan, Cornwallis was of opinion that "the ancient but obsolete claims of the Soubah of the Deccan extend nearly over the whole southern part of the Peninsula and include the possessions of Mohunmad Ali and Tippoo as well as those of the Nawab of Kurnool, but the revival and support of such dormant claims is suited only to a Government which has determined to pursue a line of ambition and conquest and is ill-adapted to the system of moderation and peace that we profess."⁵ According to the usage of the country "a tributary state is dependant on the power to which tribute is paid."⁶ From the papers which Tipu produced and from the statements of Ranmust Khan it was evident that the latter had been paying tribute to Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan for about 30 years.⁷ During all this period their right of realising tribute from Kurnool was never disputed by the Nizam. Thus, the Governor General thought "The Nizam's rights, whatever they were, have been for a term of 25 or 30 years totally and to all appearances relinquished"⁸. To Mir Alum's plea that this was due to "superior force" of Tipu Sultan, the Governor General's reply was that "the rights of sovereigns are too often decided by an appeal to force"⁹.

¹. Wilks, *History of Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 515. F. N.

². Military Sundry Book, No. 83, 1793; Governor General to the Governor of Madras: dated April 24, 1792 (Madras Records).

³. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴. *Ibid.*, Governor General to Kennaway, dated June 16, 1792, pp. 19-21.

⁵. *Ibid.*, Governor General to Kennaway, dated Aug. 4, 1792, pp. 75-76.

⁶. *Ibid.*, Governor General to Kennaway, dated Dec. 18, 1792, p. 124.

⁷. *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 84.

⁸. *Ibid.*, Governor General to Kennaway, dated Dec. 18, 1792, pp. 130-34.

⁹. *Ibid.* Cornwallis to Nizam, dated April 12, 1793: p. 229. Similarly Kennaway observed to Mir Alum that superior force "was originally the foundation of most of the rights we all possess". (Kennaway to Governor General, dated Sept. 14, 1792, p. 85.)

There was one occasion when the Nizam could have at least asserted his claim. This was at the Seringapatam Conference. But he did not, and thus missed a great opportunity. Kennaway, the Company's representative at the Peace Conference, informed Mir Alum, the Nizam's representative, that if vouchers could be produced, the question of the Nizam's claim to Kurnool could be taken up. But nothing was done. Kennaway ascribed this "to that improvidence and spirit of procrastination in the minister which pervades all his measures".¹⁰ Moreover, Tipu's cessation by the Treaty of Seringapatam of two districts belonging to Kurnool, to which the Nizam made no objection, proved that it was independent of the Nizam's Government. Tipu also included in the schedule of his possessions the Pesheush from Kurnool. Although Mir Alum objected to it, he did not press the point any further. Thus the right of Tipu Sultan to the Pesheush of Kurnool was not rejected by the allies, and neither did Tipu surrender his supremacy over the district to any of the allies.¹¹ Owing to these reasons Lord Cornwallis entertained "great doubts of the policy and even the justice of the Nizam's interference in favour of Ranmust Khan".¹²

In spite of these discouraging attitude of the Governor General, the Nizam did not relinquish his pretensions over the district. If he were allowed to annex Kurnool he was prepared to give Ranmust Khan an equal Jagir somewhere else. But Kennaway, the English resident at Haidarabad considered this measure inadvisable and wrote to Lord Cornwallis that, "even if Ranmust Khan agreed to this, still the position would remain unchanged for Tipu would consider his claims transferred from Ranmast Khan to the Nizam".¹³ The Nizam thereupon proposed that if he could secure Kurnool, he would even pay off the arrears of tribute due to Tipu from Ranmust Khan and would also pay the usual tribute in future. In effect, he was willing to become a tributary of Tipu for Kurnool. But he desisted from this step as he was warned by Cornwallis that "if you can submit to such degradation and enter into a private agreement with Tippoo, Kurnool can never be considered by allies in the same light as other parts of your kingdom and we cannot guarantee attacks on Kurnool against Tippoo."¹⁴

Meanwhile towards the end of 1792, Ranmust Khan died and a war of succession started between two of his sons, Azim Khan, the eldest, and Dadar Mian, the younger. Dadar Mian was supported by Tipu Sultan, while the Nizam took up the cause of Azim Khan. And when Dadar Mian occupied Kurnool, the Nizam mediated using the Company's troops in favour of Azim Khan. But as soon as Kennaway came to know of it he informed the Nizam that the English detachment could not support the Nizam's forces.¹⁵ He was instructed by Cornwallis that "as the Nizam has decided to interfere in the succession of the late Ranmust Khan without waiting for my opinion, I do not find myself at liberty to support him".¹⁶ As a result of this attitude of the English authorities, the Nizam's ardour for Azim Khan cooled off and he began negotiations with Dadar Mian. But to this also the Governor General objected.¹⁷ He was opposed to the Nizam's interference in the internal affairs of Kurnool, which might lead a conflict with Tipu. Kurnool, he regarded as a tributary of Tipu who was perfectly within his rights in realising the arrears of tribute from its chief. Cornwallis, however, was not prepared to see it annexed by Tipu as it was of strategic importance to the Nizam being

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Kennaway to Governor General, dated June 2, 1792, pp. 3-5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, dated December 12, 1792; pp. 121-125; Governor General to Nizam dated April, 1793; p. 224.

¹² *Ibid.* Governor General to Kennaway, dated Aug. 4, 1792, p. 76.

¹³ *Ibid.* Kennaway to Governor General, dated Sept. 14, 1792, pp. 81-83.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Governor General to Nizam; dated April 12, 1793; p. 229.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Kennaway to Governor General, dated Dec. 12, 1792, pp. 121-122.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Governor General to Kennaway, dated Dec. 27, 1792, p. 138.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, dated Jan. 12, 1793, pp. 151-153.

situated near his southern frontiers.¹⁸ In consequence, while the efforts of the Nizam to establish his suzerainty over the place were not successful, Tipu also could not annex Kurnool although it remained tributary to him.

The Kurnool affair throws interesting light upon the policy pursued by Lord Cornwallis towards the Indian States. He had organised a confederacy against Tipu Sultan and waged war against him in order to restore the balance of power which had been upset in the country. But after this was accomplished and Tipu's power was crippled, he became opposed to any further dismemberment of the Mysore kingdom which he regarded as a bulwark against the aggressive and expansionist aims of the Nizam and particularly of the Marathas. This explains why he espoused the cause of Tipu and opposed the claims of the Nizam to Kurnool. He felt that if he allowed the Nizam to have his own way, it would encourage the Marathas as well.¹⁹ Such a thing would not only involve the Company in diplomatic complications, but it would also ultimately prove detrimental to its hegemony in India.

¹⁸. *Ibid*, dated April 12, 1793, pp. 216-221.

¹⁹. *Ibid*, Governor General to Kennaway, dated June 16, 1792, p. 20.

BEGAR OR FORCED LABOUR IN HISTORICAL RECORDS

[By Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A.]

Begar is a Persian word meaning one who is forced to work or labour without pay and *begari* means forced labour. We are, of course, familiar with *corvée* in France. In this paper only one form of it is referred to.

The system in various forms prevailed in ancient India. It was termed *visti* in Sanskrit (c.f. Bhattasvamin, *hathadabhrtikaklesah*, Rudra, Bharata, etc.).

Sanskrit *visti* became *vethi* in Oriya and *vetha* in Bengali (c.f. *sthula dekhi vetha dhari jada Bharatere*, in *Chaitanyamangala*).

We find frequent references to the system in contemporary Bengali literature, e.g., in Bharat Chandra Roy Gunakar's (18th century) *Annadamangala*, but especially in the *Dharmamangala* literature of the later seventeenth century and of the eighteenth century. Passengers and villagers were pressed by individual soldiers (or even troops) to carry (heavy) loads and luggages, without any regard to their ranks and were rudely and harshly treated. This pernicious and oppressive system was intensely feared and loathed and intended victims used to flee helter-skelter at the merest chance of being pressed as porters. I am briefly alluding to the *Dharmamangal* works of the following authors who narrate their experience.

(1) Ramdas Adak, an inhabitant of village Hayatpur in the district of Hugli (A.D. 1662), laments that he fled from the tyranny of the tax-collector at home only to become the *begar* of the *sipahi* abroad (vide *si begar bujhi dharila sipahi*) who is described as the god of death from whose hands there was no chance of saving life. He fled, but was soon caught and made to carry the load on pain of being cut into two.

(2) Sitaram Das, of a village in Burdwan district (A.D. 1698), says that as he was resting in Jantikri, one man ran up to him and warned him not to proceed in a particular direction as people were being pressed as porters.

(3) Ghanaram Chakravarti (Burdwan 1711).

(4) Manikram Ganguli (Burdwan—Bankura, 1781) and others.

The system had become so much oppressive that it attracted the attention of the Government and was restrained.

As a contemporary historical evidence, I am giving below a copy of the Minute of the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council, dated 11 July, 1782, communicated to George Francis Grand, Esq., Collector of Tirhoot (Muzaffarpore Records):

"The Board deeming it necessary to prevent travellers in passing through the country from the pernicious practice of seizing and pressing the inhabitants to serve as coolies or otherwise do hereby give notice that if any single sepoy or small detachment of sepoys commissioned by native officers going from place to place shall be guilty of any oppression to the inhabitants of the country or shall attempt to make them work as coolies, the Collector of the District is authorised and directed to apprehend the offenders and deliver them over for trial to the nearest military station. When the public service is commenced and coolies or carriages of any sort is [sic] required, application is to be made to the Fougadar or Zemindar of the District or villages who is to furnish such assistance as may be necessary. The Collectors are likewise directed to arrest any native servant not being sepoys who shall be found so transgressing and deliver them over to police."

From the above it is clear that not only sepoys, but even the servants of important private individuals, resorted to the pernicious practice.

This direction, whatever temporary relief it might have afforded, was not effective enough to check the practice, and the evil flourished unabated. The practice was not confined to Bengal and Bihar, but was also prevalent in other parts of India, e.g., Hyderabad. The Government had to take more stringent measures for stopping it, and it seems that it passed restrictive orders from time to time (e.g., in 1806), till it abolished it altogether in 1820.

I am giving below the copy of an extract from the Proceedings of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council in the Judicial Department under date 24 March, 1820 (No. 629): (To W. Bayley Esq., addressed by W. B. Bayley, C. T. Metcalfe, J. Paton and B. Roberts under date 18 January 1820.

See Records of the Collector of Cuttack, No. 353 H. Mackenzie to W. Blunt, Commissioner, also Records of the Collector of Balasore, Vol. XI.)

Report re: The abolition of Begaries

"We allude to the practice which is prevalent in many parts of our territories of forcibly pressing people from Towns or villages for the purpose of using them as Porters to carry Loads, either for detachment of troops or for Travellers, Civil or Military, European or Native, specially of those of High Rank and Local Authority or for Native officers and soldiers of the Army or for the Natives of our Civil Establishments, or generally for any persons supposed to be vested with power.....

4. We do not think it necessary to state in detail in this report the cruelties and oppressions to which this practice leads. It is perhaps sufficient to remark that villages situated on the High Road have been frequently abandoned and in order to avoid the grievous infliction, the existence of which would seem to be quite at variance with the general principles of our Government.....

13. We understand that the practice has been abolished by His Excellency the Governor General in Council in the Territory of Nizam of Hyderabad as far as the subject—Troops or servants of the British Government—were concerned in it, and in consequence submit our sentiments for consideration, in the greater confidence that the suggestions offered will be honoured with His Lordship's approbation and concurrence.....our recommendation that the practice of pressing villagers commonly Begaris to carry loads be totally abolished."

Resolutions.—The Governor General in Council having taken the foregoing report into his consideration, entirely concurs with the opinion expressed by the Committee, that the practice of forcibly pressing certain classes of the inhabitants of towns and villages under the denomination of Begarees or coolies, for the purpose of carrying Baggages or other loads from stage to stage, or from village to village is highly objectionable and should be immediately abolished.

Rescinds such portions of Regulation XI, 1806, as authorise the Magistrate, or the police officers, or the Collectors or the Native officers to provide coolies for the purpose of facilitating the march of corps or detachments of troops or for the purpose of facilitating the progress of individual travellers, and the draft of a Regulation for the purpose has been approved and passed by Government.

Government orders.—The Governor-General in council orders immediate abolition. Apprise Public officers of the order.—Draft order to be translated into Persian Language and English and sufficient number of copies to be furnished to the following departments, viz., Political, Military, General and Territorial

A FRAGMENT FROM ORME COLLECTION IN THE INDIA OFFICE

[By Dr. P. C. Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)]

Hill's Catalogue of European manuscripts in the India Office Library (Orme Collection) mentions a document (91,16) described as "events at Bengal Presidency, Mutiny of sepoys in the Nabob's pay". This manuscript appears to be the fragment of a diary kept for a period of six months from 25 January to 25 July 1776. The writer apparently intended to record important events of the time and some of the local gossips. He begins abruptly with an unsavoury account of the scandalous behaviour of a "married gentleman" who "had to be excluded from the society of the place" and refers to Barwell's loss at card, death of lady Anne Monson in Calcutta (17 February), the investiture of the Nawab of Oudh with the office of Wazir-al-Etwah (16 April) murder of Muktar-a-Dowlah at Etawah and the flight of Saadat Ali (17 April) and the arrival in Calcutta of the treaty negotiated with the Marathas by Colonel Upton (20 April). There are also occasional reference to marriages in the society and departure and arrival of India men.

The manuscript is described as a copy and the name of the writer is not known, but from the events recorded and the names of persons mentioned it appears that the writer was an inhabitant of Calcutta. One would have liked to compare this document with Hickey's *Memoirs*, the local news recorded by the writer of the manuscripts must have interested Hickey also and found a place in his narrative. But unfortunately Hickey left for China and England and did not return to India till November 1777.

The historian of the period may find it convenient to use this document for checking up some of the incidents of the day. The loss at card suffered by Barwell referred to in this document must have been one of those incidents mentioned by Busteed. "Elsewhere he (Francis) computes the losings of all at about three lakhs, of which the lion's share (probably fifteen thousand pounds) fell to him and the rest to judge Lemaistre and a Colonel Leslie..... We may assume that Barwell was the chief loser".¹

The most important portion of the manuscript is the account of the mutiny of the "sepooy battalions of the Nawab under command of the English Officers". About the end of the year 1775, the Resident at Lucknow was instructed to raise six battalions of sepoys, each under a lieutenant in the Company's service, two battalions forming one regiment under a captain; one Company of artillery for each regiment under the command of a lieutenant and six regiments of cavalry under a Captain.² This arrangement however did not last long. Dr. Davies refers to a letter written by Bristow on 13 June, 1776, which mentions "13 battalion of infantry, 2 regiments of cavalry, and adequate artillery under British officers".³ It is interesting to note that this manuscript also records that by the middle of April the Nawab's troops under British Officers consisted of 2 regiments of cavalry, 13 battalions of sepoys (including "independent battalions") and a company of artillery. This arrangement, again did not prove a success, and within a few days there was a general rising against the British Officers. This mutiny of the Nawab's troops in April and May has not been properly noticed by Irwin or any later historian. Extracts from the document showing the composition of the unit and the account of the mutiny are produced below.

1. Busteed, *Echoes from old Calcutta*, 4th ed. P. 150.

2. Davies, *Warren Hastings and Oudh*, pp. 92—93.

3. *Davies Warren Hastings and Oudh*, p. 93.

EXTRACTS

April 15.—The command of two Regiments of cavalry consisting each of 600 men and five Regiments consisting each of two Battalions of sepoys are given by the Nawab of Oud to English Officers. The Regiments of cavalry given to the Captains Webber and Marsack[?] the Regiments of Sepoys to the Captains Robt. Stuart, Erskine, Hoggan, Home and Wane.

A Company of Artillery is attached to the three oldest regiments of sepoys and the commands given to Captain Hill, Lieut. Foley and Lieut. Montague.

The command of three Independent Battalions of sepoys are given also to the Captain Webber is appointed Adjutant General and Lieut. Conellan Deputy Adjutant General to the Nabab's forces and Lieut. Robert Grant English Translator of the Nabab's military orders.

A Guard of 200 sepoys is, raised for the person of the Nabob and the command of them given to Lieut. Conellan.

To Captain Robert Stuart is granted an Aid de Camp. and every English Officer is allowed the pay and double full Batta of the rank next in degree above the rank he possesses in the Company's service.....

May 15.—At the latter end of last month and during the whole of this the Sepoy Battalions of the Nawab under command of the English officers betrayed a great tendency to mutiny and insurrection.

Some of the native officers of one of the Battalions under Captain Robert Stuart, as he alleges menaced his life. He quitted them and escaped to the English Camp. The subalterns remained with the Battalion and the sepoys became quiet. The other Battalion refusing to obey the command of its officers was surrounded by 1,000 matchlockmen and 3 or 400 Cavalry belonging to the foudar of Feroabad, submitted and were disbanded.

One of the Battalions of Captain Ware's Regiment at Kulpee was reduced by the 15 Battalion of Sepoys of the 3rd Brigade which came upon them by surprise; after a short parley they capitulated and were disbanded. At the instance of the English Commanding Officer their captain and subalterns had left them to preceding evening. The other Battalion crossed the Ganges in order to march to Lucknow but being apprized that a large detachment of cavalry was advancing upon them from thence under an English Officer, the stripped of their clothing abandoned their arms and dispersed but their commander and Adjutant returning to secure the treasure tumbrel to themselves were seized by the cavalry and put to death.

The officers of both Battalions under Captain Home were ordered to leave them, after suffering repeated insults and indignities. Two of the Subalterns were menaced with death and actually bound to the mouths of cannon for that purpose tho afterwards released. After this exploit both Battalions deserted in a body, marched away and notwithstanding the pursuit of 15 companies and 300 cavalry from other troops detached after them, they by forced marches of 10 coss at a stretch, reached Agra in security with their arms, treasure, equipage, cannon and stores and were immediately entertained among the forces of Nujuff Cawn.

The two Regiments under the Captains Erskine and Hoggan on detachment in the Rohillah Country exhibited also many symptoms of discontent, tho they did not like the rest break out into actual defection. Half the Officers and sepoys of each were afterwards gradually dismissed and the rest have remained pretty quiet.....

SIDE LIGHTS ON ANGLO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS, 1869

[By Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D.]

Towards the close of Sir John Lawrence's Viceroyalty the absorption of the Muslim Khanates between the Caspian Sea and Western China in the expanding empire of Russia seemed imminent. Tashkend was annexed in 1865. General Kaufmann was appointed Governor-General of Turkestan in 1867. Samarkand was occupied in 1868. Sir John Lawrence realised the gravity of the situation and urged the British Cabinet to come to some definite agreement with Russia as to a line of demarcation between the British and Russian spheres of influence. Soon after his retirement (January, 1869), Amir Sher Ali came to Ambala (March, 1869) in accordance with a pre-arranged plan and met the new Viceroy, Lord Mayo, in conference. About the same time negotiations were entered into between the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Clarendon, and the famous Russian Minister, Prince Gortchakoff. These negotiations were conducted by Sir A. Buchanan, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, whose reports to the British Foreign Secretary on the subject of Central Asia were often communicated to the Secretary of State for India, the Duke of Argyll.

Sir A. Buchanan seems to have attached great importance to the views expressed by *The Moscow Gazette*, for articles published in that journal were frequently translated and sent to the Foreign Secretary and the Secretary of State for India. In a despatch dated February 24, 1869, the Ambassador observed, "*The Moscow Gazette* is an entirely independent journal with a very large circulation, but I have reason to believe it frequently receives inspiration from Prince Gortchakoff, and if articles are not written in it by M. Catacezi, one of his confidential Secretaries, the information on which they are based is furnished by him."¹

In an article published in *The Moscow Gazette* on February 8/20, 1869, the writer referred to an article published in *The Times* (London) and observed:

"Of course there can be no doubt of the correctness of the ideas expressed by *The Times*, that it is only by proving to the natives that the interests of Great Britain are bound up with their own, and by improving their well-being, that the possibility of an invasion of India by Russia can be avoided. The expression, however, of such a sentiment bears evidence that the English rulers of India are yet unconvinced of the stability of their power.

That, however, is not the point. If the antagonism of England against Russia only proceeds from a fear of losing the possession of India, it is ill-founded. This apprehension is quite needless. The idea of a Russian army marching to the Indus could not be realised, or, at any rate, could not be carried into execution, without frightful sacrifices, and without straining our forces to the utmost. It is, however, also true that there are no sacrifices and efforts which, from a feeling of self-preservation, the nation would not be inclined to hazard. To think that Russia would ever contemplate the conquest of India is a complete absurdity. But the fact remains that Russia and England have by the force of events now come into direct contact. Although their possessions are not conterminous, there is no barrier at present between them in Asia which could arrest the progress of either one power or the other. They are only separated by a tract of country without any means of defence. There is no powerful State to keep them as under, and which might offer to both clearly defined limits.

¹ Foreign Department, S. H. Branch, 1869, No. 24 (Imperial Record Department). ;

We repeat that the idea of a conquest of India by Russia can not in common sense be entertained even for a distant future. England, too, as it has been repeatedly stated by the press of that country, can not contemplate an extension of the frontiers of her Asiatic empire, and has no reason for envying the increase of Russian influence in Bokhara. It is, however, undoubtedly true that Russia, thanks to her position, can, on an emergency, do England vast injury. In consequence of having become neighbours, the mutual attitude of England and Russia has changed, and it would be well for each State to define its possessions with sufficient clearness. Such a change can not but produce an effect on their European policy. Russia has neither any wish nor any cause to challenge England to strife, but should there ever occur an European war like that of the Crimea (from which God preserve us) which might endanger the vital interests of Russia, or else in the event of a threatened establishment in the East of a state of things hostile to Russia, then the *supreme lex* of every living creature, the law of self-preservation, the question of her existence as a great power, might compel her to exert her powers to the very utmost. The appearance of a small military force amidst populations retaining the tradition of former redoubtable invasions will make them understand that there exists a rival in the world worthy of England. Although this would demand great efforts on the part of Russia, England also would be obliged to put forth her whole strength for the conflict. The clear-sighted politicians of England cannot fail to take this into consideration.....We quite understand that the national policy of England sets great store on her supremacy in India, but Russia does not menace this supremacy in the least, and it is only the force of habit that induces English politicians, and public opinion which they direct, to see an inevitable antagonism between the interests of the two countries."²

In an article published in *The Moscow Gazette* on February 14/26, 1769, the following observations were made:—

".....The article in *The Times*³ makes some interesting suggestionsOf all the measures of precaution submitted to the Indian Government with a view to counteract the alleged aggressive policy of Russia towards India, the organ of the city approves most of that recommending direct negotiations with the Cabinet of St. Petersburg respecting the basis of the Asiatic relations of both countries. According to *The Times*, a similar plan was entertained already in 1867 by Sir S. Northcote, the then Secretary for India.

.....Against this we have nothing to say.....But we do not think that Russia would allow the shadow of a question as to her position in Asia or her relations with the Khanates, just as England, we suppose, would not entertain a question as to her position in that part of the world. This would be tantamount to an interference of one country in the internal affairs of another.....

In another part of the same article of *The Times*the remark is made that 'the occupation of Afghanistan by Russia, or even the exclusive Protectorate of this power over a country having no value for other objects besides those of a military character, cannot be allowed by Great Britain', and further *The Times* says that 'a march of Russian troops to Herat would be tantamount to a declaration of war', and that 'although the movement of Russia in a contrary direction towards Eastern Turkistan would not possess the same important significance, in view of their existing relations between British India and Cashmere, the Indian Government could not see with complete indifference the conquest of Kashgarh, Yarkand and Khotan'. Similar remarks apparently display a desire to obtain some guarantees from Russia in the event of nego-

². Foreign Department, S. H. Branch, 1869, No. 24. "

³. February 15, 1869.

tiations being opened.....To demand from Russia that she should by some kind of treaty respect the independence of Afghanistan, and that she should declare the neutrality of Afghanistan, Eastern Turkistan or any other Central Asiatic territory would be such an incongruity that it is not worth serious consideration. Every diplomatic allusion to the affairs of Russia which are not subject to international right would only be an insult to her dignity.

Besides, what force and whose influence could compel Russia or England to respect any guarantee in Central Asia, if the necessity of defence in the event of war would require their violation? The best guarantees in this case consist in the interests of each State. Russia has not, and cannot have, any views dangerous to English supremacy in India. Even in her present advance in Central Asia she is only actuated by extreme necessity. Besides *The Times* thinks that in case of a collision in Asia, England would be able to inflict greater injury on Russia than the latter could on England. If such be the case, where is the necessity of trying to obtain guarantees from Russia? Do not these apprehensions rather show a consciousness that Russia, owing to her position in Central Asia, can, more than heretofore, exercise a restraining influence over English policy in those points where she comes into collision with the interests—we do not say of Russia, but of justice and of the same civilization to which England is so fond of referring? This, in our opinion, is the key of the whole position. Russia, as far as she is herself concerned, has no motive whatever of threatening the real interests of England. No body in Russia cherishes the vision of undermining the maritime power of England. Russia can never harbour the thought of closing the Mediterranean to England, or of cutting off her communication with India. Such schemes can never enter into the serious plans of our national policy. Reviewing the political changes of the last years we may arrive at the conclusion that in no single European question, except the Eastern, was there any difference of opinion between England and Russia....."⁴

In another article published in *The Moscow Gazette* on February 21/ March 4, 1869, we find the following:—

".....Russia, putting India out of the question altogether, does not threaten Afghanistan in any way. On the contrary, in the interests of her new position in Central Asia, Russia naturally wishes to place herself in friendly relations with the mountaineer and warlike race, which has no cause for regarding her with distrust and fear, and in this respect all obligations with another power, of whatsoever nature they might be, would rather be prejudicial. The amity and good neighbourship of wild tribes are reliable only under complete liberty of action. Every extraneous obligation inspires savages with an idea of weakness and to none is this better known than to the English from their long experience in India.

".....We shall not dispute the opinion that the Central Asian question is intimately connected with that of the East.⁵ This we have ourselves frequently pointed out. It is also indisputable that no agreement can be durable if it only embraces one particular part of the general question of the relations between Russia and England. It is for this reason that it cannot be expected that Russia should bind herself to any conditions towards England with respect to Afghanistan or any other part of Central Asia. The position of Russia in Central Asia strengthens her along the whole line of her national interests, and it is strange to expect that she should herself abandon the political and strategic advantages of her position."⁶

In course of his conversations with the Russian Ambassador in London, Baron Brunnow, Lord Clarendon pointed out "that abstinence from aggression

⁴. Foreign Department, S. H. Branch, 1869, No. 25.

⁵. Eastern Europe.

⁶. Foreign Department, S. H. Branch, 1869, No. 27.

would on every account promote the true interests of Russia", and added: ".....if the giving effect to this policy depended upon the Russian Government alone, I should not doubt its being maintained, but I was sure, judging from our own Indian experiences, that such would not be the case, and that Russia would find the same difficulty that England had experienced in controlling its own power when exercised at so great a distance from the seat of Government as to make reference home almost a matter of impossibility. There was always some frontier to be improved, some broken engagement to be repaired, some faithless ally to be punished, and plausible reasons were seldom wanting for the acquisition of territory which the Home Government never thought it expedient to reject and could not, therefore, condemn the motives or the means by which it had been acquired. Such, in the main, had caused the extension of our Indian Empire, and there was reason to apprehend that such was the course into which Russia, however unwillingly, was about to be drawn." Baron Brunnov gave the Foreign Secretary "a private and confidential letter from Prince Gortchakoff giving a positive assurance that Afghanistan would be considered as entirely beyond the sphere in which Russia might be called upon to exercise her influence."⁷

As a matter of fact, Russia had no intention to threaten either Afghanistan or India. On March 24, 1869, Sir A. Buchanan reported to Lord Clarendon from St. Petersburg: "I have learnt from a confidential source that General Kaufmann, the Governor of Eastern Turkistan, who is about to leave St. Petersburg for Tashkend, has been instructed that it will be contrary to the interests and policy of the Government to add to the territories already acquired by Russia in Central Asia....."⁸ In another report of the same date Sir A. Buchanan observed: "I have learnt from a confidential source that some Afghan refugees had sought, through the Russian Mission at Teheran, the protection of Russia, and that, while their immediate requests were refused, they were told that the Emperor was determined not to interfere in any way in the affairs of Afghanistan, and that he would take no part in any struggle which might arise between the rival factions in that country."⁹ On April 21, 1869, the British *Charge d' Affaires* at St. Petersburg was told by the Foreign Secretary: "I am assured from a confidential source that General Kaufmann,when here last autumn, made great efforts to obtain the Emperor's consent to retain permanently the districts temporarily occupied by the Russian troops during the recent military operations, but that he met with no success."¹⁰ In May, 1869, the British *Charge d' Affaires* at St. Petersburg was told by the Prussian Military *Attache* at the Russian Court, Colonel de Schweinitz, "that it was a mistake to suppose that the present Governor-General of Turkistan, General Kaufmann, was in favour of extension of frontier." This statement was of particular value because, as the British *Charge d' Affaires* reported to the Foreign Secretary on May 19, 1869, "The Prussian Military *Attache*, Colonel de Schweinitz, enjoys a privileged position among foreigners in this country... he is deputed by the King of Prussia to attend the Emperor in person, and his opportunities of judging of the real feeling at Court and in the highest military circles are thus far greater than those of any other foreign military agent."¹¹ Sometime later Prince Gortchakoff observed: "General Kaufmann had been ordered not to extend his territories but to consolidate what he had got. In fact, the taking of Samarkand was quite contrary to the wish of the Emperor, but had been forced on the General Commanding in self-defence, just as the British had been compelled to take the Punjab in self-defence."¹²

⁷ Foreign Department, S. H. Branch, 1869, No. 33.

⁸ Foreign Department, S. H. Branch, 1869, No. 31.

⁹ Foreign Department, S. H. Branch, 1869, No. 31.

¹⁰ Foreign Department, S. H. Branch, 1869, No. 38.

¹¹ Foreign Department, S. H. Branch, 1869, No. 38.

¹² Foreign Department, S. H. Branch, 1869, No. 79.

There were, however, some Russian journals which were less conciliatory towards England. *The Exchange Gazette* of St. Petersburg wrote on April 4/16, 1869, "The first stone of the wall which the Anglo-Indian Government is hastening to build across the path of the Russians in Central Asia was laid on the 27th of March last at Umballa."¹³ About the same time the *Vest* observed, "The intelligence of the meeting at Umballa, and of the grant of a subsidy to the Ameer of Afghanistan, has filled all Europe but more especially England and Russia, with great wonder and surprise.....It is very evident what England is aiming at. She is striving to erect an impassable barrier to the further progress of Russia."¹⁴ An article published in *The Russian Military Magazine* was more outspoken. "Both from a military and political point of view," the writer said, "we have reached the limit where we have no longer any choice, and where any delay or irresolution can only complicate matters." He suggested the addition of several battalions to the Russian army in Central Asia, the establishment of new forts and the construction of new roads. He concluded, "To give back what we have so brilliantly and at the cost of so many sacrifices conquered and to fall back on our frontier of 1866 would evidently be incompatible with the dignity of Russia and with the views of the Government."¹⁵

¹³. Foreign Department, S. H. Branch, 1869, No. 39.

¹⁴. Foreign Department, S. H. Branch 1869, No. 41.

¹⁵. Foreign Department, S. H. Branch, 1869, No. 61.

"IMPRESSIONS ABOUT INDIA" BY GODARD.

[By Mr. S. P. SEN, B.A. (London)]

Although the French suffered a decisive check to their political ambitions in India in the Seven Years' War, for a long time they refused to accept the position of a mere mercantile community. Down to almost the end of the 18th century they entertained a belief that they might still be able to retrieve their position by forming a strong anti-English coalition, consisting of at least the Maratha Confederacy, Hyderabad and Mysore. Throughout this period they kept themselves fully informed about the internal politics of the different powers, their military resources and their attitude towards the English, either through official missions like that of Montigny or through French military adventures in the service of the Indian Princes. Apart from details about particular incidents, they drew up quite a large number of general reviews of the Indian political situation, mostly for the information of the home authorities and for the purpose of showing the prospect of forming an effective combination of Indian Powers against the English. There are about sixteen such general reviews in the Pondicherry Archives (all unpublished except one) dating from 1767 to 1794. These general reviews are really interesting as containing many details about the Indian political situation in the later part of the 18th century, and a study of these documents would be well worth the trouble. They include the "Memoir on the different European nations" (1767) by Jean Law de Lauriston¹; "Memoir on the commerce and colonies in India" (1774), Anon²; "Thoughts on India" (1775) Anon³; "Notes on the situation of the English" (1777), by Jean Law de Lauriston⁴; "Political condition of India at the beginning of the present year" (1777), Anon⁵; "Questions put to Law by de Bellecombe and the replies of Law" (1777)⁶; "Memoir for Mons. de Ballecombe" (1777) by de Bourcet⁷; "Observations on the present political condition of India made to de Bellecombe by Jean Law de Lauriston" (1777)⁸; "Supplément to the Observations" (1777)⁹; Report of de Ballecombe to the Secretary of State for Marine and Colonies on the situation of the European nations in India" (1778)¹⁰; "Military Memoir on India" (1780)¹¹ by Jean Law de Lauriston, and a reply to it, "Reflexions on the Memoir of Law" (1781) by de Bellecombe¹²; "Memoir by Bussy on the Indian political situation of the European nations in India" (1778)¹³; "Military Memoir on India" Monneron, Deputy from Pondicherry" (1790)¹⁴; "Impressions about India" (1790) by Godard¹⁵; and "Report on India by de Lescalier, Civil Commissioner, to the National Convention and Executive Council in Paris" (1794)¹⁶.

Let us select only one of these general reviews, the "Impressions about India" by Godard. The document bears the stamp of the French Ministry of the Marine and Colonies. The actual occasion of its writing is not known, nor is much known about the author except what he says about himself in the report and from a few other stray sources. The report ends thus: "This account of the impressions could have been more systematic, but it must be considered that the author is a soldier more used to hold the sword than the pen, that he has drawn it up during a period of illness, having come to Paris for the treatment of a grave malady, the result of the fatigues of war. One can nevertheless rely on what he states because he speaks from his own experience gained from his journeys to the different parts of India, from the missions which he has carried on at the Courts of the Indian Princes, whose spirits, manners and political interests he knows, and from the military expeditions in which he was engaged almost till the last moment. If these different impressions give the idea of some kind of project, either military or commercial, his local knowledge will permit him to be able perhaps to show its possibility or otherwise, and to add all the details that might facilitate the success of the means which could be adopted". It is not known exactly on what missions he came to India, nor the period of his stay here. From a letter of Montigny, the

French diplomatic agent at Poona, to Cossigny, Governor of Pondicherry, sometime in 1786 we learn about the arrival of Godard at Poona on a political mission¹⁷. A letter of Cossigny to Montigny, dated 21 November 1786, also refers to Godard being at Poona¹⁸. In a letter dated 1 December 1786 Cossigny informs Montigny about the return of Godard from Poona to Pondicherry with a letter from Nana Phadnavis¹⁹. Cossigny also says that he has been informed by Godard about all necessary details regarding the Marathas and the Nizam. In a letter to Cossigny, dated 15 March 1787²⁰, Marechal de Castries, the French Minister of Marine and Colonies, recommends the greatest economy with regard to Godard's missions to the different Indian Powers then at war (surely the Marathas, Nizam Ali and Tipu). From a letter dated 8 January 1791²¹ we learn that Godard was an officer of the sipahis and that he had received money for a political mission in the Deccan. That is about all that we know of Godard. Regarding the date of writing, there is some uncertainty. There is no date on the document itself, but in the Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Pondicherry Archives Mons. E. Gaudart has put the date as 1790. Internal evidence, however, would put the date somewhat earlier. Writing about Tipu, Godard states that less than a year ago he had tried his forces against the Marathas and the Nizam and that peace was concluded through the influence of Cossigny, then Governor of Pondicherry. So Godard might have written this account sometimes in 1788.

The document consists of fourteen pages and contains brief accounts of the position of the English and the French, the condition of trade and commerce and the internal politics and military resources of the Marathas, Hyderabad and Mysore. The report is a very nicely written one, showing great insight into men and affairs on the part of the author. It begins with an account of the process of disintegration of the Mughal Empire. Dealing with the states of southern India Godard writes about the effective control of the English over the Carnatic. Regarding the potential military strength of the state, he says that it could maintain an army of fifty thousand men, including a cavalry force of ten thousand. Travancore, another small state, could maintain an army of twelve to fifteen thousand men, including a cavalry force of fifteen hundred. Dealing with the Marathas, Godard gives a very brief account of the rise and disintegration of that power. Regarding the military strength of the different Maratha Chiefs, Godard states that the Peshwa "has always eighty to hundred thousand men in the cavalry ready to march; he can double this number in a short while and without the least effort". The forces of "Sindhia" are nearly equal to those of the Peshwa, his suzerain. Bhonsla, Raja of Nagpur, "although very powerful, is not as powerful as Sindhia, but the major part of his country is almost invulnerable, which although mountainous is well forested and rich, and that makes it one of the Powers the least subject to revolutions. Tukoji Holkar, Parasuram Bhau and Rastia have jagirs quite considerable to make them powerful but not sufficient to make them dare refuse the tribute which they owe to the king. The jagirs of the first are situated like those of Sindhia, in Hindustan; those of the other two are in the Deccan. Tukoji Holkar is as powerful as Parasuram Bhau and Rastia together. These three Rajas united can defend themselves against Sindhia". Godard also writes about how the Marathas raised "chaauth", but we need not go into the details. Writing about the military organisation and methods of warfare of the Marathas Godard says:

"The Maratha armies are composed of little chiefs who have jagirs to maintain from 100 to five, six or ten thousand horsemen. They never make use of artillery and they have only a small infantry which they employ to guard the baggage and to police the camp, two objects of little importance among them. Rarely do they oppose their enemies with their infantry. They fight with their cavalry. They charge with impetuosity, and if their efforts are well sustained on all sides, the defeated party is no more in a condition to appear again without a fresh army. When they venture a battle against infantry, if they win the

carnage is horrible, but ordinarily they rest content by merely burning, seizing and pillaging everything within a radius of ten leagues from the point occupied by their enemy, and do not allow any relief to reach him. For sustaining this kind of wearisome war, they have horses of a medium height, very strong, very vigorous and so to say indefatigable. The horse carries its own food and that of its rider for at least eight days. The men are sober, steady and accustomed to this sort of life. To conclude a war with them it is always necessary not only to give them money but also to win over some of their chiefs which is not difficult. The people on the coast are all sailors and pirates, very courageous. They have a number of small vessels which they fill with men and with which they seize the merchandise of all nations except of the English, who after having burnt their fleet many times have again compelled the king of the Marathas, to whom they are subject, to pay damages much above the value of what they had pillaged."

Dealing with Mysore Godard gives a brief account of the rise of Hyder and then speaks about the military strength of the state under Tipu :

"Tipu till now has rather changed than added to his heritage..... If the Marathas are not at war among themselves, he (Tipu) would risk much in trying to disturb them. He is not in a position to aggrandise himself at the cost of the Suba (Deccan). He may perhaps attack Travancore with impunity, but he cannot undertake anything against the Carnatic unless there is a war between the French and the English. Tipu keeps the cultivator happy and protects the Indian merchant. His country is sufficiently rich to maintain a cavalry of ten to twelve thousand men and an infantry of twenty to thirty thousand He possesses a considerable treasure, augmented by continuous pillage. Down to this time he has maintained an army of thirty, forty and sometimes fifty thousand cavalry, forty to sixty thousand sipahis, an artillery of sixty to eighty pieces of cannon, of which half are 24, 18 and 12—pounders and the rest 8, 6 and 4—pounders. He has about three thousand cavalry and twenty thousand sipahis trained in the European fashion. His artillery is very well kept and very well manned. His troops are well trained, the best paid and the only disciplined force in the service of the Indian Princes. He has made himself redoubtable to the English, and neither the forces of the Suba nor those of the Marathas are in a position to win a battle against him. However, he cannot successfully continue for a long time a war against either of these two Powers, each of which can wear him out".

Dealing with the Suba of the Deccan Godard first gives a brief account of its early history and then speaks about the diplomacy and military resources of Nizam Ali :

"Nizam has only small resources and a poor army, but he supplement everything by great courage and by a rare eloquence combined with a diplomacy as prudent as consistent The army of Nizam consists of cavalry of sixty thousand men and an infantry of an almost equal number (Salabat Jung, much less rich than him, maintained an army of double the number). Of this cavalry force of sixty thousand men, one-third is excellently mounted, one-third fairly well, and the rest in a very ordinary fashion. He has in his infantry force thirty to forty thousand sipahis, the rest being pyedas. He has two hundred pieces of very good artillery, more of 24, 18 and 12—pounders than of a lower calibre. He maintains four to five hundred elephants for the service of the artillery and of his army. He has among his troops the best kind of men, badly paid in his cavalry the best and the finest kind of horses, badly kept; in his artillery enormous chariots, of which several break down on every march; gun-carriages which cannot resist the shock of even half an hour's firing; and finally, an army little disciplined and little trained and as much below the forces of Tipu as the latter are below ours. These are the defenders of the dominions of this Prince, but if he wishes everything can be changed, and this machinery which

is almost a phantom can become what he would like it to be whenever he wishes it or when some event will force him to have recourse to arms."

Godard next writes about the condition of the French settlements and the possibility of forming a coalition of Indian Powers. "The disquieting position of these Princes in relation to the power of the English, which is daily increasing, and their resources, as yet very great but which they find almost on the point of being lost, give a unique opportunity for obtaining advantages to a nation which wants to strengthen them". He ends his "Impressions" with an interesting account about trade and commerce, with special reference to the dominating position of the English.

All numbers of Documents are from the Catalogue des Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde Francaise, Pondichery.

1. No. 100.
2. No. 201.
3. No. 211.
4. No. 233.
5. No. 234.
6. No. 236.
7. No. 237.
8. No. 238 (It has been published by Martineau).
9. No. 255.
10. No. 289.
11. No. 321.
12. No. 323.
13. No. 423.
14. No. 1311.
15. No. 1337.
16. No. 2200.
17. No. 5344.
18. No. 930.
19. No. 938.

A FARMAN OF THE MUGHAL EMPEROR MUHAMMAD SHAH

[By Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah, M.A., Ph.D. (London)]

Through the efforts of the Regional Survey Committee some very interesting early records have recently been brought to light in Bengal. Among them are a series of Mughal *Farmans*, *Yaddashts*, *Nishans* etc. relating to the Burdwan zamindari. Except perhaps the still unexplored Nizamat and family records of Murshidabad the papers now in the possession of the Burdwan Raj constitute to my knowledge the largest single collection of Mughal documents in Bengal dealing continuously with the same property. For the 18th century revenue history of Bengal the value of the revenue yield of the mahals and parganas noted in the detailed schedule attached to almost every *Farman* in the collection can hardly be overstressed. Nor are the procedural details as evidenced by the documents of any less interest. They begin with Aurangzeb represented by a *Farman* and a *Nishan* of the 38th and 41st years, and continuing through the reigns of Muhammad Shah and Ahmad Shah end with Shah Alam. Muhammad Shah accounts for the largest number, 3, while Shah Alam's records include a certified copy of a court memorandum (*yaddasht*), of 1178 A. H. Assuredly these documents have never been published before although they are preserved with sufficient care. In the beginning of the present century a High Court case led to their production and photographic copies of the originals as well as of their certified English translations have since been preserved in two folio volumes which also include papers of more recent date and personal interest.

Lack of time prevented my taking a full transcript of all the documents which I hope the Regional Survey Committee will some day have fully photographed and published. Meanwhile I give below an abridged translation of one of Muhammad Shah's *Farmans* issued in favour of Chitra Sen, son of Kirtichand, on the 20th Ramzan in the 21st year of accession i.e. about 1740. The translation is my own, done freely from a hurriedly taken copy. The certified translation struck me as having skipped over or inaccurately rendered many passages and terms which demand careful decipherment.

"At this peace-increasing and success-assuring time, in order to nourish the small and pursuant to the petition of the Pillar of the Sultanate, Bakshi of the Empire, Amirul Umara Samsamuddoula Khan Dauran Bahadur, Nasrat Jung, this august obedience-compelling *Farman* is issued (to the effect) that the service of the zamindari of Chakla Bardwan etc., within the Suba Bangala, on the death of Kirtichand, is (herby) settled on and confirmed to his son Chitra Sen, with the title of Raja, on his agreement to (submit) *peshkash* of the sum of 2 lakh, and 30 thousand rupeya to the mighty government. Having duly rendered his gratitude and respect for the patronage and generosity he shall submit the *peshkash* as under the terms of the *qabuliyat* to the High Exchequer and (himself) takes the accustomed remuneration and *naukar* after paying the obligatory taxes; with well-trained retinue he shall exert himself unsparingly and in ever increasing extent, in advancing his devotion to the Badshah through commendable acts, loyal service and sincere well-wishing of the state, and shall carry out the requirements of self-sacrifice and unceasing exertion in improving the lot of the ryots and warning and chastising the villainous trouble-makers, doomed to wretchedness, so that none among the evil-minded refractory persons can ever create any mischief in those parganahs and that the contentment and happiness of the people of those parganahs may, through kind treatment and beneficent works, remain ever on the increase. He shall (further) render sincere and adequate assistance to Government amils and *gumashtahs* and (also) to Jagirdars, in the work of revenue collection from the Government *Khalisah* mahals; he shall duly meet the obligations of obedience and cooperation with the Nazims of the subah and their representatives and (finally) shall regard unshaken faith in the established order and continued service in the straight path

as the source of his own well-being as well as of his prosperity. Written on the 20th of Ramzan, 21st year of the great *julus*."

On the back of the *Farman* is what I considered the most interesting part, showing almost a complete history of the order. It is comparable to a modern file condensed in a page on which also are-listed the mahals attached to the zamindary.

"Confirmation of the settlement of the zamindary of Chakla Burdwan etc. within the Subah Bangala, in accordance with the draft-order of the Bakhshi of the empire Samsamuddoulah Mansur Jung Bahadur, which the present writer has penned, on the *qabuliyat* of a peshkash of 2 lakh and 30 thousand rupeya to the government, on the death of Kirtchand to his son Chitra Sen, along with the title of raja.

"Details of the entry dated 11th Shaban, year 21st of *julus*; Jalaluddoulah Sarafraz Khan Bahadur, Haidar Jung wrote that Kirtchand, zamindar of Burdwan is dead. From a perusal of the departmental papers it appeared that during your Majesty's reign an august *Farman* of the zamindary was issued through the efforts of the Diwan-i-Subah, Ghairat Khan, *marhum*, in the name of Jagat Ram, father of Kirtchand, on his undertaking (to pay) as peshkash the sum of one lakh and one thousand rupeya to the mighty government, out of which thirty thousand to be paid after the issue of the *Farman* and seventy one thousand to be paid in five yearly instalments. After the expiry of four years and six months (Jagat Ram) was killed. Subsequently a *Farman* was granted to Kirtchand, son of the deceased. The aforesaid, after paying one lakh and one thousand rupeya as peshkash, and twenty thousand as present to Muhammad Azimussan and twelve thousands as perquisite of the *wazarat* and having submitted the remainder of his father's peshkash within two years, died. (Whereupon) the deceased slave (of your Majesty) himself considering the loyal devotion of Chitra Sen, son of the deceased himself installed him in the zamindary of his father's mahals and having given him a diwani sanad (accordingly) to ensure the stability and continued collection of the revenue petitioned to your Illumined Majesty for a *Farman* on the subject of the zamindary and the title of raja and assigned to be in (the obligation to pay) two lakh and thirty three thousand rupeya, out of which one lakh and ninety three thousand was payable as peshkash to the government, twenty five thousand as present (*nazarana*) to the *Nizamat* and fifteen thousand as fee of the *wazarat*. Due to some difficulties (the petitioner) was not distinguished by the bestowal of what he prayed for. From the kindness and generosity of Your Majesty this devoted servant is now hopeful that an august *Farman* for the zamindary and the title of raja will be honoured with issue so that it being the cause of his reassurance, no defect may find its way in the *malguzari* and that (he) can remit to the treasury One lakh rupeya in coins on the bestowal of the august *Farman* and the balance in four annual instalments."

Endorsements and remarks on the margin: *Bottom left-hand corner*, a Detail of the signature of the Bakhshi of the empire. "After presentation to the Sublime one a sacred order was issued that the August *Farman* be given." *Right-hand top corner*.—"According to the most sacred, high and mighty order the august *Farman* is hereby written."

Bottom right hand-corner.—"On the 21st Shawwal this reached the office of His Majesty.

ii. Sealed on the 26th Shawwal."

Bottom Centre.—Seal of Qamaruddin Khan, Nasrat Jung.

The rest of the page contains a long schedule of the mahals attached to the zamindary with the land-revenue noted against each. But within the short time at my disposal I could take down only a few names which, as revealing nothing much of value, I have omitted.

THE BRITISH PROJECT OF THE BAGHDAD RAILWAY

By Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, D.-Litt.

The conception of the scheme of Baghdad Railway is popularly attributed to the German Empire, for it was at the initiative of William II and under the technical guidance of German engineers that the Railway became partially a fact before 1914. But it is generally not known that the original authors of the Railway scheme were British statesmen and financiers. Papers in the archives of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India, preserved in the Imperial Record Department, reveal the story of the British interests in the region of the Middle East and the plans which were then entertained of providing short and rapid communication between England and India.

The sixties of the last century saw the eastern countries gripped with the craze of railways. Both the Persian and Turkish Governments desired the construction of railways in their territories, and looked up to European financiers and engineers for assistance. On May 13, 1870, the Shah of Persia executed a concession of the right to construct railways and to work mines for 25 years in his kingdom. In July 1871, Mr. Dawes of Messrs. Grey, Paul & Co., applied for a concession of a railway to connect Teheran with a port on the Persian Gulf and in July 1872 an exclusive concession was granted to Baron Reuters for the construction of railways throughout Persia. The Secret Proceedings of the Foreign Department for a number of years abound with references to the railway projects in Persia which for some reason remained abortive. The importance of the Persian Gulf which was then being transformed into a British preserve exhibited the possibility of connecting it overland with the Mediterranean coast on the side and with Karachi on the other, so as to bring the Indian frontier nearer by a few hundred miles, in spite of the Suez Canal, to England.

The Political Proceedings of October 1870 (No. 224) contain a letter (No. 12, dated Baghdad, the 13 August 1870) from Lt. Col. C. Herbert, Officiating Political Agent in Turkish Arabia to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, in which a proposal with all its varied advantages, is outlined for a railway line to connect Alexandretta with Busserah by way of "Aleppo, Bir, Orfa, Nisbeen, Moosul, Kerkook, Beghdad, Koot-col-Amarah and Koorna". He had suggested this route as an alternative to the proposal already being canvassed in England for the Euphrates Valley Railway. That the matter was being considered at higher levels is borne by the fact that the attention of the House of Commons was invited to this subject on 16 June, 1870, and Mr W. P. Andrew, Chairman of the Delhi Railway, had written many letters to His Majesty's Government on this subject. It is also known that the Turkish Government was keen on it at the moment. Furthermore, there was danger that Russia might forestall the British by having a railway line connecting the Caspian Sea with the Persian Gulf. Similarly in 1873, Reuter laid before Granville a plan for the construction of a railway through Asia Minor connecting Constantinople with the Persian Gulf, which the Turkish Government was keen to construct, and for which a concession could be given to him. This proposal also came up before the Government of India which considered all these projects in the Public Works Department as a means of having "a system of railways between the continent of Europe, the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean". There were thus definitely three schemes a railway to connect Alexandretta on the Mediterranean with a port on the Persian Gulf, another between Constantinople and the Persian Gulf port and the third to link the Persian Gulf port with Karachi.

The advantages which were supposed to accrue from the projected railway have been very clearly analysed by Lt. Col. Herbert. Some of these are:—

- (a) "Making Kurrachee the European port of India in place of Bombay, it would save about 1000 miles in the distance between England and India...."
- (b) "It would render the invasion of India all but impossible. It would subject an enemy advancing towards the North-West Frontier of India to easy attack on the flank and rear."
- (c) "It would render the resources of England so promptly available in the east that Chatham and Portsmouth might be made the bases of operations as easily as Kurrachee and Bombay; and any hostile movement directed against us, whether from without or within our Indian frontier might thus be effectively checked before it could assume formidable proportions."
- (d) "It would put an end to the present dangerous isolation of Persia..."
- (e) "At present the most direct communication between these two countries is through the Suez Canal a line which would be in the greatest danger of interruption in the case of England becoming engaged in war with any European power; whereas the proposed line of Railway through this country would be free from the possibility of any such interruption...."

There were advantages of commerce, besides.

The Ottoman Government was favourable to the scheme, and promised guarantee and support, but it seems the British Government could not at the moment make up its mind to a contingent guarantee. What motives or vested interests prompted the cessation of the projects is difficult to say. But it is clear from the papers that British imperial interests in the early seventies had led to the initiation of railway projects in the Middle East which were later taken up by Germany to be opposed by England owing to injury which her interests would suffer by the railway being in alien hands.

PUBLIC OFFICERS ENGAGING IN SPECULATION.

[By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt.]

It appears from the district records of Lucknow that the right of public officers to engage in financial speculations formed the subject matter of an interesting discussion in official circles sometime after the Mutiny. I have come across a file of correspondence (Circular No. 33-2538 of 1873, dated Lucknow, 21 May, 1873, and later from the Government of India to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, 13 May, 1873, No. 1695, forwarding letter from Government of Bengal, No. 1445-G., dated 30 December, 1872, an dletter to ditto No. 1495, dated 10 April, 1873) which throws interesting light on this subject, and as this matter is one which will be of some interest to the student of Indian administration, I may indicate below the nature of the controversy.

During the days of Company's rule and even in the years following it, many high officials freely engaged in what could be termed "speculation". The discussion started as a sequel to the Government of India Notification, dated 28 August, 1872, prohibiting public officers from engaging in speculations. It was not clarified, however, what constituted an unjustifiable speculation. The local authorities asked for a more exact definition as to what were the speculations which public officers might, and what they might not engage in. Actually, they found it difficult to draw a line between permanent investments and purchase with a view to re-sale, it being only a question of degree.

The points which needed clarification were:—

1. Some officers in Calcutta, Bombay and other places went into speculations to such an extent that their activities were wellknown to the public, and yet no action was being taken in this matter. How could their fellow officers in the interior of the country be prevented from emulating their example?

2. Many Government servants freely held shares in undertakings, public and private, for it was nowhere precisely laid down what was to be considered a speculation and what not.

There were, moreover, certain public officers who also engaged in private business, e.g., law officers and some as the administrator-general, who apparently had always held themselves entitled publicly to serve as directors of public companies.

4. The members of the uncovenanted service were under the existing rules prohibited from taking farms and buying land in their own districts, but it was not known if they could be permitted to do so in other districts. Could a Deputy Collector take farm under a zamindar in a district other than that in which he was for the present employed? Could he plant and manage a tea garden beyond the limits of his district? Could a covenanted servant do all this beyond the limits of his province?

In response to the demand for some exact definition of the whole question, the Government of India, in their letter dated 10 April, 1873, No. 1495, gave the following ruling for the guidance of the local authorities:—

1. Dealings such as investment in land within the district to which an official belonged, connection with the management of any bank or business, and such other transactions were prohibited.

2. "The Government of India consider that there exists an essential difference between permanent and speculative investments, that the distinction is one of motive, and that the frequency of a man's purchase and sales

may be, and usually is, very good evidence of his motive in effecting them. If an officer habitually buys and sells securities of a value notoriously fluctuating, it is clear that he is addicted to speculation.....".

3. In regard to officers whose whole time was not at the disposal of Government, they were not to be regarded as in the same category with other public servants; "nevertheless if their behaviour gives rise to scandal that is, to common rumour that they are in any way making private profit out of the opportunities given by their official position, in that event the Government can of course recognise no difference whatever between these and other servants of the State."

It appears from the whole correspondence that no fixed rule of conduct in the matter of speculation could be laid down by the local authorities. They were of the opinion that even if it were possible to devise such a rule, the expediency of doing so would be questionable.

The position as it finally emerged was this: "If he (a public officer) engages in such pursuits to an extent which attracts public notice and unfavourable remark, so that his integrity or his application to his public duties is discussed and doubted, then he has given rise to a scandal with which the Government will have to deal." (Vide Circular No. 33-2538 of 1873. dated Lucknow, 21 May, 1873).

THE ALIGARH DIARY.

[By Dr. A. Halim, M.A., Ph.D.]

One of the most interesting records in the custody of Babu Girija Prasad Mathur, a Kayasth gentleman belonging to one of the most leading and cultured families of Aligarh, is the *Ruz-namchdih* or Diary, hereinafter described by me as the "Aligarh Diary". I have already given a short account of it, in the Annual Report for the year 1946-47, which I submitted as the Local Secretary of the Aligarh Branch of the Regional Survey Committee, U. P., to the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, quite recently. Here, in the following pages, I attempt a proper description of it, and explain its scope and importance.

The family discussed above, claims on quite authentic source, descent from Rai Bhagwatidas, the Diwan of Bengal, who was raised to the status of the Diwan-i-Khalsa (Crown-lands) in Bengal, on Zilhaji 1, 1661¹ (during the Vice-royalty of Shaista Khan), by Emperor Aurangzeb. Rai Bhagwatidas was the holder of a mansab of 500. This family had an unbroken record of service in the Diwan-i-Khalsa of the Mughal Emperors, for eight generations and owned extensive rent-free lands in Aligarh and Saharanpur Sarkars. Most of the gifts (now lost), appertain to the reign of Emperor Shah Alam. The diary begins from December, 1772, and is continued uninterrupted up to 1876. With a short gap here and there the diary is continued thereafter and entries are made in it even now-a-days. It was started by Sundarlal, Munshi of Diwan-i-Khalsa of Emperor Shah Alam, and the author of a voluminous memoir which is of great importance as a source-book for local and contemporary history, and continued by each head of the family.

It is in the form of a comparative table, each page containing 14 to 16 lines, one line being devoted to the recording of events of one day, so that 2 pages are required for jotting one month's chronicles and 24 pages for those of one year. Each year's record is demarcated by stout card-board covers at the beginning and at the end. The diary begins from December 1772, and against each day of the Christian year, the corresponding dates in Fasli, Hijri, Vikrami and Saka eras are put down, and a remark column left blank for recording incidents. For instance, the first column contains the date, December 8, 1772, the second the corresponding date of the Fasli month of 1205, the third of the Vikrami, the fourth of the Saka eras. The second line was for recording the events of the ninth and the third for the tenth and so forth. Each page has five to ten entries and sometimes more. The tabular form is hand-written up to 1867, but incidents of the succeeding years, up to the present time, are recorded in printed tabular calendars, notably those of Ralimatullah Rad, a well-known astrologer of Cawnpore. Up to 1872 the record is kept in Persian but after that date in Urdu. It is in Shikasta character—neat in some places but decipherable with strain in others. The Diary consists mostly of the records of events of local importance such as the visit of a notable, like the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, a Prince or a Nawab, the births, marriages, feasts or bereavements in the houses of the leading Hindu and Muslim families, middle-class men, chief crafts-men such as musicians, dancers and darters, the outbreak of an epidemic in the city, the appointment or dismissal of a servant (in the diaryist's family), the transfer of valuable landed property by sale, the visit to shrines and holy places (such as that of Hazrat Shah Jamal),

¹ Alamgirnāma Bib. Ind. Series, 683; p. 10, of Shahb-ub-din Talish's *Fathiya-i Ilmi*, Jir J. N. Sarkar's MS.

the appointment and transfer of a Collector, Magistrate, a Judge or Tahsildar of the city, the dates of the lunar or solar eclipses of new moon and full moon, or the holding of a Darbar by the Lieutenant-Governor. There is a record of a Darbar in the city on January 5, 1860, after the suppression of the Mutiny, the Lieutenant-Governor conferring robes of honour on Raja Tikam Singh, Raja Govind Singh, Rajah Mukand-das and Kunwar Mahmud Ali Khan.

After the Mutiny a number of estates belonging to the Hindus and Muslims were auctioned, those being mostly of people directly implicated in the Mutiny. The diary records important transfer of lands from time to time, sometimes with the names of the leading witnesses, and these entries have been accepted on many occasions by the court as conclusive evidence in many civil suits involving big landed properties. There are, however, many events of more than local importance, such as the activities of Generals de Boigne and Perron, the death of Emperor Shah Alam, the siege of the fort of Bharatpur by the English army, the death of the Commanding Officer (December 30, 1825), the capture of the fort (January 18, 1826) and of the Raja and the Rani.

One of the most interesting and at the same time very important entries, which may concern historians and biographers in and outside India, is an event of November 5, 1825. On that date, so records the diary, "Mihrunnisa, General de Boigne's wife, residing in Mohalla Shahpara, sold two plots of land to Lala Saheb Rai, Government pleader, Kol. for Rs. 950 on November 3, 1825, two hours before the expiry of the day." From the account of de Boigne, given in Herbert Compton's "A particular account of the European military adventurers of Hindustan", we come to know, that General de Boigne returned from Aligarh to France, with two children, born to him by a marriage contracted "according to the usage of the country, with the daughter of a Persian Colonel in India". These were a son named Ali Bakhsh and a daughter named Banoo. Both of them were subsequently baptised and re-named Charles Alexander and Anna respectively. The latter died in Paris, in 1810, but Charles grew up and married a noble man's daughter, and succeeded to his father's estates and title and became the progenitor of the present line of the Counts de Boigne. We did not till now, know the name of his Mahomedan wife. It is through the Aligarh diary that we come to know that she was Mihrunnisa, who remained behind at Aligarh in the hope that her husband would return to the place with her children and rejoin Sindhia's service, for which repeated requests were being made, after the recovery of his health. And de Boigne, too had intentions to come back and would have done so if he had not fallen in love with a young lady, Mlle. D'Osmond, whom he married.

A summary of the leading incidents recorded in the diary has been prepared by Babu Giriya Prasad. I am very thankful to him for the facilities he provided me in examining it and the readiness with which he responded to my queries. I thank him also for his willingness to transfer it to the Lytton Library, Muslim University, Aligarh, of which he is an alumnus and feels proud of being so.

BAHADUR SHAH II OF DELHI AND THE ADMINISTRATION COURT OF THE MUTINEERS

[By Dr. S. K. Banerji, M.A., L.T., Ph.D., D. Litt (Lond.)]

Muhammad Bahadur Shah II was the last Mughal potentate. He was very old and infirm when the Indian Mutiny took place at Delhi in 1857 and he was dragged by the mutineers from his palace to be seated on the throne of his forefathers. He took up his task seriously and made earnest efforts to conduct the administration, *e.g.*, in order to conciliate his Hindu subjects he had issued orders that no sacrifice of a cow, bullock or calf would be permitted on the Baqar-i-id Day¹. While he had to look after the civil administration, he had also to defend the city against the British besiegers. He had also to keep a careful watch on his insolvent and lawless soldiery, but here his efforts were mostly futile and infructuous.

Amongst the Mutiny papers is a unique document, 57-539 of the Press list published by the Government of India in 1921, which testifies to Bahadur Shah's anxiety to control his unruly soldiery. A court of ten members was appointed and among its aims and objects was included getting riddance of the terrible mess to be noticed in the several military and civil departments.

The following regulations were made to establish the court and direct its deliberations:—

1. A body named the Administration Court be established for the proper administration of the civil and military affairs of the country.

2. The Court shall consist of ten members of whom six were to be chosen from the military and four from the civil, and of the six military members, two will represent the infantry, two the cavalry and the remaining two the artillery.

3. The President and the Vice-President shall be elected by the members from among themselves and the Court shall resolve itself into five committees to look after the administration of the different departments.

4. At the time of appointments, every member shall declare on oath that he would discharge his duties with integrity and not be subject to greed, malice or deception, his sole consideration to be to improve the administration and add to the peace and happiness of the ryots. Before the publication of the minutes of the proceedings, no member shall divulge them without permission from the President and the Court.

5. Only those members are to be chosen from the army who have put in approved service and are known to be prudent and likely to be of use to the State. In exceptional cases, one possessing the requisite qualifications but not the length of service may be selected; the other members shall not raise any objection to his choice.

The same shall apply to the selection of the civil members.

6. A member guilty of partiality or dishonesty shall be forthwith removed by the Court and recourse will be taken to regulation 5 for the selection of his successor.

7. All matters of the government shall be placed before the members and decided by the majority of votes. The decision shall next be placed before the Saheb-i-Alam Bahadur for his consent and then finally for Huzur-i-Wala's approval². If there be a conflict of opinion between the Court and the

¹ See, Press list of the Mutiny papers, 1857, p.p. 61-245.

² Saheb-i-Alam Bahadur, it appears from another document (Persian O. R. 135-167) addressed by the king to the chief of Jaisalmar to refer to Muhammad Bakht Khan, Bahadur Shah's deputy and entitled Lord Governor-General Bahadur. The Huzur-i-Wala refers to Bahadur Shah

Saheb-i-Alam Bahadur, the matter will be placed at the Court meeting for reconsideration. If disagreement still persists the proceedings in full shall be placed before the king whose decision shall be final.

8. No one but the members is to have access to the meetings of the Court. The Saheb-i-Alam Bahadur and the king shall have the right to be present whenever they choose.

9. A resolution or amendment proposed by a member shall have the consent of at least one other member.

10. The proposer of a resolution shall speak first on it and without any interruption from the other members; after him an opposer will speak and then the supporter of the resolution and lastly the other members by turn.

10A. After the passing of a resolution by the Court and its approval by the king, it shall be circulated among the secretaries of the different departments for information and necessary action.

11. The persons chosen from the military sections are also to act as their supervisors. To the two supervisors in each section shall be attached four other members to form a committee, one of whom will act as its Secretary. The resolutions of the committee will be placed by a supervisor before the Court.

12. The Court shall, with the consent of the majority of its members, make alterations in these regulations.

Let us make some observations on these regulations:—

1. A crude attempt was made by Bahadur Shah to introduce a popular element in the administration. But the details of the procedure of selection of the members of the Court are not forthcoming and we surmise that in the midst of stress and storm of war, he was content to nominate them. Since the military members were to control important sections, they must be senior officers.

2. Occasionally additional members of experience were invited if their presence was helpful to the deliberations.

3. No regulation is put down for the selection of the civil members. The civil departments were numerous and the choice of a member must have been restricted to the few important ones.

4. It is not clear how the two members from one military section correlated with each other especially when each acted as the convener of an important committee. Probably the two mutually agreed on the division of their work.

5. The decisions of the Court were not final but subject to the approval of the Saheb-i-Alam Bahadur and the king.

6. The Court dealt with all affairs under the sun. In the then disturbed state its exact military and civil duties are not clear. More than once it helped the authorities by encouraging the mutineers against the English.

The document is undated and bears no official seal and is written on cheap paper.

In the Mutiny papers there were several references to the Administration Court:—

(a) In some of the papers, it is seen acting as an advisory body, *e.g.*, on a few occasions it informs the officers of the army that the king had promised to reward them if they carried the enemy trenches by assault and if they fell, their surviving heirs would be supported¹. Similarly it advised the king to

¹ See papers 426-7, 429, 431-3, 437, 439, 443 all belong to section 57.

agree to grant rewards to the soldiers in case of victory.¹ It also supplemented the orders of the military headquarters by issuing instructions to the officers to oppose the approaching English² and informing a colonel of the shortage of ammunition in camp³. It approved of a Brigade Major's proposal to construct a bridge and strengthen the guard at a particular post.⁴ It tried to maintain discipline in the army by forbidding plunder while fighting was going on⁵. We have serious doubts whether all the instructions of the Court were attended to at all.

How disturbed the conditions were at Delhi may be granted from another document⁶ where the king directs the Court to stop the soldiers and elephant drivers from destroying the royal and private gardens. If the king felt helpless in the matter how could an advisory body like the Court be expected to be more effective? We presume that the complaint was made merely for the information of the Court and no prompt measures were expected of it.

There is another document⁷ which bears witness to the king's distress. It is addressed to his military officers and (a) expresses his weak state of health, aggravated by their lawlessness; (b) a request is made to them to remove the military guards placed on his *hakims* and to desist from laying hands on the people's property; (c) a warning is given that the plunderers will be severely dealt with by the Court and they are told that if punishment be not palatable to the soldiery, he would either retire to the shrine of the Khawaja Sahib⁸ or commit suicide by swallowing a diamond and even be ready to be killed by his own lawless men.

The document, written in Urdu for the benefit of his common soldiers, gives a vivid picture of the king's plight and his unfitness to act as leader at such a stormy period. He weeps over Hakim Ahsanullah Khan's death piteously bewails that now there was none else but God to look after him and pleads for the release of another of his *hakims* so that he might get a regular treatment and be cured of his malady. He goes on to complain of the misdoings of the soldiery and asserts that the spoliation of his subjects' property was nothing less than the spoliation of his own. The last, no doubt, shows his concern for his subjects but to no purpose; for when he threatens to set the Administration Court to punish them, he knew perfectly well how little he could rely on it. Probably, for this reason, he threatens at the close of the *hukmnama*, as it has been termed, of his resignation or putting an end to his life.

We are further enlightened of the king's distress by the document, 60-71, of the Press list, where a protest is lodged against the king's policy of obtaining money by raising loans from the local money-lenders. The petitioners point out that two such loans had already been raised in the past on promise of their repayment in full, together with an addition of twenty-five per cent. of the loan but the sum thus raised mostly remained with the corrupt middlemen, allowing only a meagre sum to reach the king. They also complained against the Administration Court, darkly hinting at some member being in secret league with the English and suggesting the substitution of a Council of only four men in its place.

2 57-445.

3 57-470.

4 57-449.

5 57-488-9.

6 57-56-60.

7 57-573.

8 17

We do not know whether the king approved of the last suggestion, but think it would not have improved matters at all.

In conclusion it may be stated that the whole atmosphere was steeped in suspicion, corruption, intrigue and lawlessness and no one was really interested in the affairs of the state and least of all, the Administration Court, and the king who alone seemed to think of the people, was infirm and powerless to do any lasting good to his suffering subjects.

Such is the gloomy picture of the conditions prevailing at the headquarters of the mutineers at Delhi.

PROCEEDINGS RELATIVE TO A SETTLEMENT AT THE ANDAMANS

By S. N. Das Gupta, M.A. (Lond.), D. Littl (Lko), F.R.H.S. (Lond.)

During the Anglo-French contest for supremacy on the continent of Asia, very severe but generally indecisive engagements were fought at sea. Naval operation were greatly handicapped in the absence of a safe and fortified harbour-insular and central in situation, defensible, covered from the ravages of the monsoon, of easy ingress and egress in all seasons and possessing, in fact every facility for careening, refitting and repairing battered ships after their encounter with the enemy or the elements. The weakness of the Coromandel coast was thoroughly exposed. The coast was too dangerous for shipping during the north-east monsoon season. Madras was almost "an open roadstead" with an ill-protected coastal area and destitute of a good harbour. The splendid harbour of Tricomali in Ceylon, was in Dutch hands. Cornwallis considered the port "an object of the greatest magnitude" and wrote to Dundas towards the end of 1788 that it was "worth purchasing at any price." The only alternative left open to British Admirals, was to retire to Bombay for the repair and refitment of the ships of war. But Bombay lay too far off the actual base of operations and its dockyard was still in a rudimentary state of construction. Moreover; the time spent over the passage to and from Bombay inevitably worked against the possibility of rapid actions in times of emergency. Rear-Admiral Pocock, for example, after offering a severe check to D'Ache's "somewhat superior force" on 29 April, 1758 and "roughly handling" the French on 3 August, retired to Bombay for the repair of his ships; when his presence in the eastern coast was imperative to impede the progress of Lally. Lally was authorized by the French East India Company "to destroy the fortifications of maritime settlements which may be taken from the English" and "to drive them into the sea."¹ Similar instructions were sent to D'Ache. The English settlements at Sumatra were to be taken and English vessels were to be captured even at neutral ports². In the absence of Pocock, Lally reduced Cuddalore, captured and destroyed the fortifications of Fort St. David and laid siege to Madras in December 1758. Pocock sailed from Bombay for the Coromandel coast on 17 August, 1759 and fought his third indecisive engagement with D'Ache on 10 September. Meanwhile the honour of British arms was retrieved by the successful defence of Madras by Colonel Draper, Stringer Lawrence and Governor Pigot. Pocock, at his departure, represented to Clive the necessity of having a dock in Bengal "for the reception of his Majesty's ships, in case the squadron should winter here³."

The expenses for the construction of such a dock were of little consideration before the more weighty advantages of having the squadron refit in Bengal instead of at Bombay, "by which means they would have it in their power to return much earlier to the coast". The representations of Pocock were submitted by Clive to the Select Committee for consideration. The Committee welcomed the views of the Admiral⁴ and the Kidderpore Docks were established in 1780-81. History repeated itself during the maritime war of 1778-83, when Admiral Hughes fought five indecisive actions with the French Admiral de Suffrein and, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the Madras Council left the coast defenceless at a critical moment and set sail for Bombay on 15 October, 1782 to refit his vessels which had kept the sea during the monsoon of 1781. The opportune arrival of Admiral Bickerton with five

¹ Select Committee Proceedings, 29th May 1761.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

sail of the line and 4300 European troops assured safety and ultimate supremacy to the British.

Moreover, the Armed Neutrality of the North (1780) affected the supply of English ship-building materials—oak, cordage, hemp and flax. The home Government, pressed by the Admiralty, emphasised upon the Court of Directors the need of procuring these materials from the tropics.

The despatches of the Directors to their servants in the eastern settlements reveal the urgency of making detailed enquiries regarding the possibilities of the supply of timber from the wilds of the Andamans, of masts from the mountains of Penang, and of hemp, flax, hides and skins from India.

The phenomenal growth of the China trade, too, in spite of irksome restrictions enforced the need for a convenient halting station where English merchant might call for wood and water during their long voyage to Canton. Macpherson, Governor-General-in-Council wrote to the Directors on 26 March 1786 on the imperative necessity of having "a port where ships of our nation may meet the eastern merchants, as well for the promotion of that valuable commerce as to afford a windward station of refreshment and repair to the King's and the Company's country ships".¹

Thus commercial, national and naval requirements of the time pointed to the obvious direction of having a settlement, "within striking distance of Madras and Calcutta", which will serve the threefold purpose of linking up the trade of the Company's Indian settlements with the Far East, of providing a safe harbour for merchant vessels and ships of war, and of keeping an eye on the movements of enemy privateers on the Indian seas and the narrow straits of the eastern archipelago. In the choice of such a station the Company was bound to avoid places within the regional influence of the Dutch. As the Dutch possessed an extensive control over the passage-ways to China, the obvious drift of the English was towards the Andamans, the west coast of the Malay Peninsula or to spots remote from the mail fist of the Dutch but advantageous from commercial and strategic aspects.

In 1764-65 Captain Jolley, a marine engineer, was sent out from England by the Directors and he surveyed the several islands on the west coast of Sumatra, in the Straits of Malacca and the unoccupied places on the peninsula. The strategic value of Pulo Pisang, an island at the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula, was spoken of in high terms, though its only objection was "its small extent".

The surveying expeditions of the time covered the Lesser Sunda islands and "quaint details of Bali" were supplied. But none of the efforts had any material result.

Between 1780 and 1793 the officers of the East India Company's marine were actively engaged in making surveys of the coasts and islands in the south and east of the Bay of Bengal and in the eastern archipelago. Captain Thomas Forrest was commissioned by Warren Hastings in 1783 to explore the Mergui Archipelago and negotiate with the Malay princes for the purchase of a settlement. His report on the islands was presented with "his most respectful compliment to Mr. Wheeler" and stands as a valuable guide alike to geographers, navigators and statesmen². After setting aside consideration for a settlement on Hastings Bay, "which is landlocked", and on King's Island, which "is not in the tract of shipping being to the eastward a good way and a cul de sac into the bargain" and in the vicinity of the power of the continent", Forrest ultimately selected the island of St. Matthew and hoisted the British flag there³. The offer of a settlement at Rhio by its king was frustrated

¹ Parliamentary Branch No. 55, Second Report Sel. Comm., App., p. 355, ff.

² Beng. Gen. Cons., 2nd July, 1784.

³ *Ibid.*

by the Dutch on account of the Bengal government's delay in sending its sanction, through Forrest¹. Captain Alexander Kyd was authorized to make an accurate survey of Prince of Wales' Island in 1787; Captain Kyd submitted to the governor-general-in-council a plan of the island and its harbours accompanied by a memoir with a description of its soil, climate, productions and other relevant factors². Captain Moreson of the R. N. was sent out to India for the express purpose of surveying the harbours³. The Bengal government was "sufficiently encouraged" by Kyd's report to take effective measures for making the settlement at the P. W. I. more permanent. In 1788, the supreme government gave directions to Lt. Archibald Blair of the Bombay Marine for the survey of the Andaman Islands. Blair completed the survey "in two seasons", and was directed to form a settlement at that place⁴. Captain John Ritchie, head of the Marine Survey Department in Calcutta, surveyed the coasts of Bengal and the mouths of the Ganges⁵. Captain Michael Topping's observations on the coasts of Arracan, the Gangetic delta, Cape Comorin and the eastern coasts of the Bay (1788-90) were of essential service in future investigations. The Bombay government, in obedience to the orders of the Court of Directors, fitted out in August 1790 a survey expedition to the Pelew groups under Captain McCleure, "a forgotten worthy of the service". The survey was completed in 1793 "though on too small a scale to be of much practical benefit to navigators". McCleure's survey covered, also, the coasts of New Guinea⁶. Lt. John Hayes' surveys in the eastern archipelago in 1793 cover a wide area, including the Van Diemen's Land, the south-west side of New Caledonia, the south-east and north coast of New Guinea, the Bachian group in the Moluccas, Timor, the north and south-east of Java and the Straits of Madura⁷.

These surveying expeditions were often the means of planting the British flag in out of the way places. Nautical and hydrographical knowledge, too, was vastly augmented.

Lt. Blair's survey of the Andamans was the outcome of the instructions from the Earl of Hillsborough to the Court of Directors on 16th November, 1781 for "small settlements upon the Nicobar and Andaman Islands"⁸, and of the doubts entertained by Lord Cornwallis on the retention of the British settlement in Penang. The governor-general's opinions were undoubtedly shaped and strengthened, to a large extent, by the remarks of his brother, Admiral Cornwallis. The Admiral felt no hesitation in stating openly that Penang was not suitable as a port for refitting warship⁹. It was uncertain for a long time whether the supreme government, with whom the primary consideration was the establishment of a commodious windward port for the repair and refreshment of the King's East Indian squadron in time of war, will be willing to retain the island for commercial purposes only with the heavy expenses necessary for the infant settlement. Lingering doubts were removed only after the weighty reports of Captain Kyd and Rear-Admiral Peter Rainier on the utility of the island¹⁰. But the first official report of Blair, laid before Lord Cornwallis in June 1789, on two good harbours he had discovered on the east

¹ *Ibid.*, 31st May, 1784; Light to Andrew Ross, 10th April 1784, Straits Vol. I.

² Wisset. A Memoir on P. W. I., Straits I, Unrecorded Paper No. 114.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ His work formed part of the material for Major Rennel's Map of Hindostan.

⁶ The name of "McCleure's gulet" is an abiding reminiscence of the hydrographer's visit to New Guinea. McCleure and his ill-fated crew, probably, floundered in the Bay of Bengal.

⁷ The manuscript chart and memoirs of Lt. Hayes were captured by a French man-of-war, taken to Paris and preserved in a public institution.

⁸ Home Misc., No. 155, E. I. Series. No. 63.

⁹ P. R. O., Admiralty I, 167, 27th February, 1790.

¹⁰ Eisher's unrecorded papers, 332.

and south end of the Great Andamans, so impressed the governor-general that he wrote to his brother, Admiral Cornwallis, of his intentions "to remove the establishment from Prince of Wales Island thither I have kept the discovery as secret as I could and of course you will do the same"¹.

Blair's report was remarkable not only for the clearness with which it was written, but also for its accurate and minute description of the chief geographical features of the island, illustrated by a chart of strategic situations and accompanied by a plan of the two harbours. The south end harbour appeared "capable of containing all the fleets of Europe, and is so circumstanced as to be very easy to repair to, or to depart from at any season in the year, and during either of the monsoons, and may be supplied with provisions from hence in a very short time especially in the north-east monsoon"². Blair was deputed in August 1789 to take possession of the island and of the harbour. He reported the arrival of the "Ranger" and the "Viper" at the Andamans on 19th November, 1789 with a large staff of artificers from Bengal, as also provisions for six months³. A colony, under his charge, was formed on a site called Port Cornwallis, re-named Port Blair, near the southern extremity of the Great Andamans. Blair's first act was to build a redoubt on which the guns of the "Ranger" were mounted. Malayas were brought for clearing the ground of the rank vegetation. It was reported that they frequently came into conflict with the natives from the mainland and harassed by the insidious method of attacks. Sheds were erected within the redoubt, a reservoir constructed and a convenient watering place was cleared for ships⁴. The settlement was represented by Blair to be "healthy" and tolerably supplied with fish⁵, the soil was promising and "very productive of grain and vegetables"⁶. An excellent quality of poon was discovered "in great abundance"⁷, and specimens were sent to Bengal through Lt. Wales, with a detailed account of their quality and uses⁸. The specimens were received by Bengal in October 1790 and were submitted for examination to Lt. Col. Kyd, Superintendent of Botanical Researches in Bengal⁹. A little redwood was also sent to China "by way of experiment"¹⁰. The supreme government expressed its "satisfaction at his (Blair's) report of the healthiness of the new settlement and the progress he has made in cultivating the ground"¹¹.

In conformity with the instructions from the governor-general, Admiral Cornwallis, who had arrived at Madras on September 3, 1789, in command of the East India Station, proceeded to the Andamans on December 4, 1789, with Captain Kyd of the Marine Engineers and Lt. Colebrooke, and arrived there on the 19th of the month "to pass a final judgement on this very important business" of a settlement on the island¹². Just before he left England, a document "of a secret nature" with instructions "as to a general survey of coasts, with special reference to the east coast of the peninsula, the Andaman Islands, and part of the Malaya Peninsula", was sent to the Admiral¹³. The

¹ West, *Life and Letters of Admiral Cornwallis*, p. 154.

² Home Misc., No. XXIV.

³ Beng. Pub. Cons., 9th February, 1790.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 20th August, 1790.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 3rd February, 1790.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 30th April, 1790.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 20th August, 1790.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 22nd September, 1790.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 6th October, 1790.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 20th August, 1790.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 3rd February, 1790.

¹² Admiral Cornwallis to Philip Stephens. 4th December, 1789; P. R. O., Admiralty I. 167.

¹³ Outletters, Admiralty II, 118.

matter was evidently considered to be of the greatest importance, and Dundas, President of the Board of Control, pressed for immediate action "in view of the determined effort of the Dutch to prevent any encroachment upon their monopoly which might be attempted by the English in these seas"¹. A private letter on the subject was also received by Admiral Cornwallis from Lord Chatham, First Lord of the Admiralty². In his letter of December 25, 1789, the Admiral wrote to his brother that he found the port "fully equal to what it had been represented"³. Captain Kyd, in the meantime, surveyed Nun-cowry harbour in the Nicobar Islands.

The year 1790 was occupied in completing the surveys and sailing round the Great Andaman. The east coast was carefully inspected by Lt. Blair and Captain Kyd. A larger and more commodious harbour than Port Blair was discovered on the north-east of the island. The reports of Sir Richard Strachan of the "Vestal", Captain Smith of the "Perseverance", and of Captain Delgarno of the "Atlanta", who were at the Great Andaman during the south-west monsoon, were indeed very favourable. They found "no difficulty in getting into the harbour"⁴, though in the height of the monsoon the Andamans are distinctly unpleasant. Admiral Cornwallis gave it "a decided preference as a war port to all other he had examined"⁵. On November 20, 1790 he wrote to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty:

".....I think it just such an harbour for a fleet of men-of-war, as could be wished much superior to any I have yet seen for that purpose. There is sufficient room for the ships to work, with exceeding good anchorage and I should apprehend the entrance might be defended by fortifying an island near the middle at the outer part of the harbour and placing some guns on the opposite shore
....."⁶

Moreover, the spot was thickly covered with "forest timber of a fine quality and prodigious size equally well-suited for ships and buildings"⁷. The cry of the Admiralty about the inadequate supply of oak from Norway will be met with satisfactorily.

So favourable were the reports respecting this new harbour that the governor-general was contemplating in March 1791 the removal of the small colony from Port Cornwallis to this place⁸. Opinions at home, however, seem to vary on the advisability of a new naval base in the East. Lord Howe believed that "no more settlements should be made in such parts than we are able to defend with such force as is competent to resist small attacks"⁹. In December 1792, on his return to Calcutta from his successful engagement against Tipu Sultan, Lord Cornwallis issued orders for "the removal of the settlement made upon this island from the Old Harbour to that last discovered at the north-east part of the island.....The names are carried from one harbour to the other and that first occupied is called Old Harbour"¹⁰. On 31st December, 1792 Capt. Blair reported that the work of clearing the ground "was proceeding with expedition and that the settlers continued healthy"¹¹. The soil of the island was excellent; the surface was plainer than the ground about the Old

¹ Out letters, Admiralty II, 118.

² *Ibid.*

³ Beng. Pub. Cons., 3rd February, 1790.

⁴ Admiralty I, 167, 18th August, 1790.

⁵ Fisher's Unrecorded Papers, 332.

⁶ Admiralty I, 167, 18th August 1790.

⁷ Beng. Pub. Gen. Letter to Court, 18th May 1793.

⁸ Admiralty I, 167, 18th August 1790.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 18th December, 1792.

¹⁰ Beng. Pub. Gen. Letter to Court, 12th August, 1793.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 8th March, 1793.

Harbour and was better adapted for cultivation. The supply of plain water, too, was abundant. The natives, in the neighbourhood of the new establishment, "do not offer the least molestation to the inhabitants or interrupt even the fishermen in their employment; but that at present they do not show any inclination to an intercourse"¹. Blair also left in the hands of the Bengal government a chart of the northern part of the Andamans showing the dangerous coral shoals and a safe line to avoid them. He also recommended that a more minute observation of the soundings should be made especially in those parts where the bottom is coral.² The chart was engraved at a cost of Rs. 1200 and was preserved in the Surveyor-General's office.

Blair was succeeded by Captain (now Major) Kyd, who arrived at Port Cornwallis as Superintendent of the settlement on March 5, 1793. The favourable report presented by Blair was confirmed by Major Kyd who observed that "with very little trouble watering places may be made for supplying the largest fleet", and that "the soil was of a very rich quality and the surface when cleared and cultivated will produce, in great abundance, the fruits and grains which are natural to Hindustan"³. About 200 convicts were sent from the different gaols in Bengal to the Andamans for the purpose of clearing the grounds. Five European convicts were sent from Bombay "under a sentence of transportation". But Major Kyd returned the convicts, and the Bengal government requested the governor-in-council, Bombay, that "European convicts should not in future be ordered to that settlement where in the present state of it they could not earn their livelihood: where they could not be subsisted but at a considerable expence to the Government"⁴.

The colony was put into a state of defence during the war with France and large reinforcements were sent to guard against an apprehended attack from the enemy. But though the early reports from Major Kyd on the health of the settlers were satisfactory, since the setting in of the south-west monsoon "there has been such uncommon sickness among the settlers, that he is unwilling and thinks it would be imprudent to decide on a question of such importance, as the fitness of the place for a naval arsenal, until the causes of sickness have been determined"⁵. The west season at the Andamans covers a period of nearly eight months, when the weather is tempestuous and irregular. The rains are excessive and the extreme humidity is prejudicial to the human constitution. The settlers were exposed to "scorbutic complaints which in many instances proved fatal, and that afterwards they were effected by slow, nervous debilitating fevers"⁶. The scurvy "proceeded from a total want of vegetable food, and the succeeding indisposition from the confined situation of the first settlers, bad accommodation and the effluvia of decayed vegetation"⁷. The Bengal government, however, constantly hoped that with "the removal of the wood upon it and by extending cultivation and growing more vegetable food proper for relieving disease", the insalubrity of the climate and unhealthy conditions will be removed⁸. Major Kyd was more inclined to think of "the probable effects of the climate upon the health of the crews of the ships of war enfeebled by hard service and hence more liable to the disorders of a moist climate"⁹ which was "a strong objection against the establishment of a harbour for refitment and refreshment at the Andamans"¹⁰.

1 Beng. Pub. Gen. Letter to Court 8th March, 1793.

2 *Ibid.*, 18th May, 1793.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, 12th January, 1794.

5 *Ibid.*, 12th August, 1793.

6 *Ibid.*, 2nd November, 1795

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*

As a matter of fact the idea of forming the Prince of Wales Island into a marine port seems to have been given up, for a time, under a belief that the Andamans was "a preferable station". Instructions were submitted to Major Kyd (April 21, 1794) to revisit Penang and report on the comparative advantages and disadvantages of Port Cornwallis and Penang. Major Kyd gave "a decided preference in favour of Prince of Wales Island" and wrote: "I have a full conviction that Prince of Wales' Island, all circumstances considered, is infinitely preferable to the Andamans, and that it in fact provides everything that Government can want for a port of refitment and refreshment for the Navies of Great Britain to the Eastward of Cape Comorin"¹.

In February 1796 orders were issued accordingly for the abandonment of Port Cornwallis and the removal of the penal colony to Penang "as being a more healthy locality"².

¹ Fisher's Unrecorded Papers. 332.

² The convict colony was established at Port Blair in 1858.

ZAFAR NAMA

A TRANSLATION OF A MANUAL OF MILITARY TRAINING

[By Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., London]

Zafar Nama (or, Translation of a Manual of Military Training) is a manuscript found in the collection of the Central Museum, Lahore.¹ It is perhaps the original and the only one of its kind. Its existence was first brought to light by Mr. Vidya Sagar Suri, M. A. of the Dyal Singh College, Lahore, in 1944 when he briefly noticed it, among other sources of Sikh history in the Journal of the Punjab Historical Society. The manuscript, however deserves much closer review to its rare and interesting contents and features. [Pp. 135, 11. 15-24; 6.5 "x 11. 4.2." x 7.9"; nastihk, written within red, blue and golden margins; space within two margins decorated with golden floral patterns; the frontispiece illuminated with the Sanskrit letter "OM" (symbol of God) containing figures of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva and their consorts; rubrications; in a fairly good state of preservation].

The scribe Munshi Harbhagat Rai, a pupil of a celebrated "Ustad" Mirza Akram Beg states that the Manual was originally drawn up in French by General Ventura under the instructions of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and was subsequently translated into Persian. Through the gracious choice of Fakir Azizuddin Harbhagat Rai was made to write out its translation. He states: "Subsequent to the establishment of the power of Maharaja Ranjit Singh some talented Europeans had joined his service. Notable among them were Chevaliers Allard and Ventura. The Maharaja was particularly impressed with their military skill and capacity for organisation. They trained the army of the Maharaja in a remarkable manner and made it renowned far and near. The new discipline and training imparted by the Sahibs (Europeans) was greatly appreciated by the Maharaja. He ordered the Sardars of the earlier regular troops and their sons to learn French rules and regulations from the afore-mentioned Sahibs.

Accordingly all the Sardars of the old camp and their sons became eager to learn the new methods of training of the *Fauj-i-Khas*. In this respect Commandant Mehan Singh who had, as is consistent with his dignity, established friendly relations with the Sahibs since their arrival, appeared very anxious to be initiated into the new mode of training. The Maharaja wished the manual to be translated from French into Persian. Accordingly the exalted Sardar (Chivalier Ventura) was ordered to do the needful. This was however delayed on account of pre-occupations. The Maharaja reminded the Sahib about it, and the Commandant (Mehan Singh) too, made an insistent request. Thereafter the Sahib (M. Ventura) attended to the writing of the translation of the manual and it fell to the lot of the humble self to write it out. As regards the rules and regulations, whatever was pointed out to the humble self with the kindness of a teacher (by M. Ventura) has been translated here and the book is named "ZAFARNAMA".²

BEGINNING

The work opens with an introduction in praise of God.

ہزاران ہزارینا دُش و عالم عالم ستائیش جناب - الخ

The opening page has at its top an illuminated Sanskrit letter "OM" (Symbol of God). It contains multi-coloured figures of Vishnu, Brahma and Siva (the Hindu deities of prosperity, creation, and destruction, respectively).

¹ The MS. is numbered R. 6035.

² Vol. viii, 1944, pp. 23-24.

³ *Ibid* pp. 22-25.

The whole work is profusely illustrated. On some leaves the space between the lines is "MUSH DANDAN" style¹.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Brief life-sketches of the ten Sikh Gurus—Nanak to Gobind Singh—then follow. At the commencement of the account of each Guru is painted in pleasing water colours his portrait with one or more attendants. On some pages the space within the margins and the lines is decorated with floral patterns in gold.²

Next follows an account of the rise of Ranjit Singh. At the top of p. 21 is a fine painting of the Maharaja holding a private conference with some Sardars under a Shamiana in a beautiful garden setting. The account includes his extensive conquests and his elaborate military organisation with the help of his European generals (Allard and Ventura), his deep appreciation of the western modes of warfare, his orders for the compilation of a manual in Persian from French by Ventura and for the writing out of the same by Harbhagat Rai³.

RULES AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE TRAINING OF THE FORCES

Section I.—ON THE ORGANISATION OF A REGIMENT—

This section is divided into eight chapters. Their contents relate to the formation of lines, disposition of officers—senior and junior, stationing of the bandsmen and the distribution of battalions. The headings of the chapters and the numbers of the battalions are given in French⁴. Still more interesting, a chart or a sketch of the formation of a unit, including both horses and foot and complete with names of smaller ranks, illustrated by means of figures and letters, is drawn⁵.

SECTION II—ON TECHING DRILL TO FRESH RECRUITS

This section is divided into three parts, each comprising four chapters with their contents outlined in the beginning of each chapter.⁶

PART I

Chapter I.—deals with the standing position of the soldier and his movements as they should be according to rules. Chapters II, III and IV relate to the drilling of the soldiers.

PART II

Chapter I.—Relates to the holding of the gun (Match-lock).

Chapter II.—Directions in regard to marching while holding the gun and firing it.

Chapter III.—About the firing of the gun in a particular posture.

Chapter IV.—About the firing of the gun generally.

PART II RELATES TO DIFFERENT FORMATIONS

Chapter I.—On soldiers marching together.

Chapter II.—On marching in single and double files.

Chapter III.—On taking aim.

Chapter IV.—On marching together and firing including general instructions (to officers) for personal demonstration to the soldiers and for giving orders.

¹ pp. 1—3.

² pp. 3—20.

³ pp. 21—26.

⁴ pp. 29—31.

⁵ p. 32.


⁶ pp. 33—105.

INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING VARIOUS MOVEMENTS EZ.

- a. On parade.
- b. On holding a gun.
- c. On loading a gun in three different ways.
- d. On firing in three columns.
- e. On the marching of a battalion in formation.
- f. On firing by a battalion in formation.
- g. On marching of troops to the Cantonment after parade.
- h. Other orders concerning units.
- i. On holding a gun which a general or colonel carries on a regiment.
- j. On the parading of a regiment as ordered by a general or a colonel.

Instructions pertaining to the movements outlined above are given at length and are exemplified by expressive illustrations. These illustrations, drawn in various colours, represent the sepoys in their French uniforms with highly realistic effect. Complete in every detail—uniform, characteristic posture, appropriate disposition, exact position of the arms borne by soldiers and the direction in which they must look, the pictures have been drawn with meticulous care and are meant to make apparent the minutest points of each particular aspect of a drill.

All orders are in the French form as adopted in the Fauji-Khas which was disciplined by the French generals themselves, but being written in Persian, cannot be easily made out by laymen. The illustrations are as numerous as necessary, depicting generally a single soldier, but at places where a formation needs fuller description, two or even more men are depicted¹. From page 53 onwards, however, the space for illustrations is left blank, the space between the lines not filled with gold and the margins being not drawn either. In fact the latter part of the manuscript is clearly written in haste.

The illustrations are striking from the artistic point of view as well. They vividly bring out the uniforms, i.e. red jackets with gold buttons, cross-bands, and white pantaloons, which are obviously imitated from the French styles of the days of Napoleon. The red jackets  are still preserved in the Lahore Fort together with a variety of old Sikh accoutrement.

Finally, the manuscript, being written at the instance of Ranjit Singh on a subject which was of passionate interest to him, is unquestionably of much historical interest. It indeed is a rare treatise on the military craft of the days of Sikh Sovereignty over the Punjab. It does help us in comprehending the efforts involved in transforming the Sikh military machine to its latest form.

¹ pp. 107—135.

² e.g., on pp. 42, 44 and 53.

THE PUNJAB NEWS IN THE AKHBAR-I-DARBAR-I-MUALLA
[PRESERVED IN THE JAIPUR ARCHIVES]

[By Sardar Ganda Singh, M.A.]

Jaipur State may, perhaps, be said to be one of the richest States, if not the richest, in northern India in its collection of contemporary News-letters of the Mughal days. The old and new capitals of the State have enjoyed comparative peace during the last three centuries, with the result that the State archives and officials records remained intact to a great extent. What has been lost, or has not been preserved, is due to causes not unusual in our country—the absence of record-mindedness and of properly organised record offices.

I had come to know of the existence of a valuable collection of *Akhbarat* at Jaipur from Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who had suggested to me to examine them for first-hand contemporary information regarding the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur in Delhi in 1675. Guru Har Krishan, the eighth Sikh Guru, had, under the orders of Emperor Aurangzeb, been received and looked after by Mirza Raja Jai Singh in Delhi, and Guru Tegh Bahadur had accompanied Maharaja Ram Singh to Assam. I had, therefore, expected to find some authentic records about them in the State archives. Through the courtesy of Sardar Bahadur Sir Teja Singh, then Chief Engineer in Jaipur, and Mr. Timani, the Superintendent of the Department, I was able to examine the Mughal News-letters, properly called the *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* in September and December, 1944, and January, 1945. From what I was then able to explore, I can say that next only, perhaps, to the Maratha collections of News-letters, the Old Historical Records in the *Diwan-i-Hazoori* of Jaipur are a mine of rich historical information regarding the reigns of Emperors Aurangzeb, Bahadur Shah, Jahandar Shah and Farrukh Siyar. I was told that a large number of records were still lying in some of the old chambers. I hope they have since been rescued from the ravages of white ants.

As I was interested mostly in the Punjab news, with particular reference to the Sikhs, I devoted my attention to the selection and copying of these alone. And, I am glad to say that my labour was amply rewarded. I was able to collect news covering 222 foolscap pages, beginning with the 9th year of Aurangzeb's reign to the 7th of Farrukh Siyar's. The *Akhbar* of Emperor Aurangzeb are not continuous and complete. There are big gaps both in months and years. I am, however, inclined to believe that some of these gaps will be filled up when all available papers have been rescued and brought to the Record Office for preservation. In the *Akhbars* of Bahadur Shah, Jahandar Shah and Farrukh Siyar, there are much smaller gaps, in some cases only of days.

The Mughal Emperors had an elaborate system for the collection of news from all over the country through a network of official News-writers, called the *akhbar-nawis*, *waqai-nawis*, *waqai-nigar*, etc., who sent through *harkaraks*, or couriers, their *parcha* or *fard-i-akhbar* (news-sheet) to their chief at the capital or in the Imperial Camp. The latter, who was a trusted official of the State, submitted these *Akhbars*, in a consolidated form, to the Emperor. The *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, thus, were not exclusively the news of the Imperial court, as the title would suggest, but were generally summaries of the news submitted to the Emperor, with a brief record of His Majesty's reactions and orders thereon. These, in turn, were transmitted to various subahs and states by their respective news-writers, or sometimes a central agency, to keep their masters or subscribers in touch with what was going

on at the Imperial Court and in different parts of the country. In the same way was the Jaipur collection of the *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* made.

The Punjab news in the above Akhbars throw a flood of new light on the history of the province, especially during the reigns of Emperors Bahadur Shah, Jahandar Shah and Farrukh Siyar, with which they mostly deal. And, when read along with the diary-like, but more detailed, contemporary account of Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan, who was an eye-witness of many an event recorded by him in the *Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chughata*, they should be of immense value in the re-interpretation and reconstruction of history.

The Akhbars of Aurangzeb's reign deal mostly with administrative matters. Excepting that of the Sikhs, there was then no religious or political movement in the Punjab to be mentioned in the News-letters. And, of the Sikhs there is no mention in them. This is, however, compensated by the abundance of news regarding Banda Singh, popularly called Banda, during the reign of Aurangzeb's three successors.

It is not possible to give here a detailed survey of the Akhbars. I will, therefore, continue myself only to a few of them which are of great historical importance in moulding our views about men and events of those days.

AJIT SINGH, NOT THE SON OF GURU GOBIND SINGH.

There are a number of entries in the Akhbars about Ajit Singh who is mentioned therein as "the son of Guru Gobind Singh". Orders were issued by Emperor Bahadur Shah on the 26th of Sha'ban, of the 2nd year of his reign, October 30, 1708 A.D., to grant to him *khi'at-i-matami*, or a robe of mourning, after the death of the Guru. On the 18th of Sha'ban in the 4th regnal year (September 26, 1710), when the Emperor was moving against Banda Singh, Ajit Singh was brought to the royal presence by Raja Chattrasal Bundela and was detained in the Camp in his custody. He was, later on, on the 17th Ziqada (December 27) ordered to be handed over to Kar-Talab Khan, and sometime later to Sarbrah Khan. On the 1st day of Bahadur Shah's 6th regnal year (1st of Zil-hijja, 1123 al-Hijri, December 30, 1711 A.D.), he presented a *nazar* of nine *ashrafis* to His Majesty, and the latter was pleased to grant to him the village of Chak Guru, the present city of Amritsar.

This Ajit Singh was not the son of Guru Gobind Singh. The Guru's eldest son Ajit Singh had been killed in the battle of Chamkaur in December, 1704. Ajit Singh of the *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* was a goldsmith's son, brought up by Mata Sundri, the widow of Guru Gobind Singh, and was so named by her in memory of her son, the real Ajit Singh. But the adopted Ajit Singh was too ambitious a young man to have much regard for the sentiments and wishes of the *Mata*, or for the relics of the Guru, and had to be disclaimed and disinherited by her. He met an ignominious death by being dragged behind an elephant during the reign of Muhammad Shah in 1134 al-Hijri, 1722 A.D., for a false allegation of abetment of the murder of a Muslim mendicant.

BANDA SINGH WAS NOT A SIKH GURU.

It will be interesting to know that Banda Singh has been referred to and mentioned in the Akhbars as *Guru*, Gobind, *Guru* Gobind and *Guru* Gobind Singh, and, strange as it may appear, the mistake has persisted throughout the period of his political activity for six years, beginning with the 4th year of Bahadur Shah's reign, when he first appeared in the Imperial News, to the 5th of Farrukh Siyar's, when he finally disappeared from the stage after his execution in Delhi on the 29th Jamadi-us-Sani, 1128 al-Hijri, June 9, 1716 A.D. As every one knows, Banda Singh was not a Guru of the Sikhs.

The Guruship had ended with the tenth and the last Guru Gobind Singh. Banda Singh was only a political leader of the Sikhs, having been nominated by the last Guru as Commander of the forces of the Khalsa.

HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE MUSLIMS.

Banda Singh, a disciple of Guru Gobind Singh, was the first after the Guru himself, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, to oppose the mighty Mughal Empire and to carve out a Sikh principality in the Punjab and to pave the way for the conquest of the province, half a century later by the Sikh Missaldars. The Jaipur news-writer at the Imperial capital tells us in his report, written some time before the battle of Sirhind (fought on 13 May, 1710), that the Sikhs, then under the leadership of Banda Singh, had a deep-rooted hatred for Wazir Khan, the *faujdar* of Sirhind, "for the murder of the young sons of Guru Gobind Singh". Otherwise, Banda Singh had no hatred for the Muslims as such. Except those killed in the battle of Sirhind, including the *faujdar* himself, or some of the associates of Wazir Khan, no one else was touched. In fact, after the occupation of Sirhind (on the 26th of Rabi-ul-awwal, 1122 A.H., 14 May, 1710), the Sikhs, according to the same reporter, issued such strict orders, as not to permit even the killing of a single animal.

On the 7th of Jamadi-ul-awwal, June 23, five weeks after the victory and occupation of Sirhind, Banda Singh told Jan Muhammad, the Zamindar of Gulab Nagar (the new Sikh name given to the town of Buriya):—

ترازمیدار کل پرگنه نموده ایم و تقصیرے کہ کردہ بودی معاف نمودیم باید که با جمعیت
خد رفته سردار خان زمیندار چونذله بیادر - باز برای تنبیه جلال خان همراه خواهی شد

"I have forgiven your crime and made you the Zamindar of the whole *paragannah*. You should proceed with your men and bring in Sardar Khan of Chundla. Then you will accompany me for the chastisement of Jalal Khan Afghan."

AN EDICT OF BAHADUR SHAH.

On the 29th of Shawwal, 4th regnal year (1122 al-Hijri, 10 December, 1710 A.D.), Emperor Bahadur Shah, from his Camp in the neighbourhood of Lohgarli near Sadhaura, directed *Bakhshi-ul-Mumalik* Mahabat Khan to issue edicts to the *faujdar*s in the neighbourhood of Shahjahanabad "to kill the worshippers of Nanak (the Sikhs) wherever they were found". The original entry reads as follows:—

۲۹ شوال سنه ۱۲ - به بخشی اطالک مہابت خان بہادر فرمودند کہ حسب التکم وال
بنام فوجداران نواح شاہ جہان آباد بنویسد کہ نانک پرستان را ہرجا کہ ببایند بقتل رسانند

MUSLIMS IN BANDA SINGH'S ARMY.

The above edict for an indiscriminate massacre of the Sikhs seems to have brought no change in Banda Singh's policy. Although himself pursued from place to place, he did not, evidently, wish to reduce his struggle to the level of a communal strife. His was a political struggle. He would not, therefore, impose any religious restrictions upon the Muslims. And they flocked to him in large numbers. The following news is self-explanatory:—

۲۱ ربیع الاول سنه ۵ بیگوتی داس ہزارہ فردے بہ مغرت ہدایت الہہ جان بہ نظر انور
گذرایند نانک پرست مقہور لغایت ۱۹ شہوخال در قصبہ کلا نور مقام دارد - دوہیں ولا
قولے دادہ وعہد نمودہ کہ مردم مسلمین را آزار ندم - چنانچہ ہرکس مسلمین رجوع می
شوند - یومیہ و مواجب مقرر نمودہ نگاه می دارد و اجازت دادہ کہ خطبہ و نماز می
خواندہ باشند چنانچہ پنج ہزار کس مسلمین جمع شدہ رفاقت مقہور اختیار نمودہ
از بانگ و نماز در فوج مقہوران آرام یافت

"21st Rabi-ul-awwal, 5th regnal year (14 April, 1711).

Bhagwati Das *harkarah*, through Hidaytullah Khan, presented to His Majesty a news-sheet reporting that—

(1) the wretched Nanak-worshipper has his camp in the town of Kalanaur upto the 19th instant. During this period he has promised and proclaimed. 'I do not oppress the Muslims'. Accordingly for any Muslim who approaches him, he fixes a daily allowance and wages, and looks after him. He has permittel them to read *khutba* and *namaz*. As such, five thousand Muslims have gathered round him. Having entered into his friendship, they are free to shout their call and say their prayers in the army of the wretched (Sikhs)." This is also mentioned in another news saying:—

گورو مقہور در قصبہ کلانور آمدہ پایتہ ادبار قائم نمودہ راز ہنود و مسلمانین ہر کہ می رود نوکر می کند - قریب پنچ ہزار سوار مسلمانین جمع شدند و ہر روز افزون می شوند - باید دید کہ خواستہ کردگار چیست -

"The wretched Guru, having established himself in the town of Kalanaur, is taking into his service any Hindu or Muslim who goes to him. Five thousand Muslim horsemen have gathered and are daily increasing. Let us see what God wishes"

۱۳ ربیع الثانی سنہ ۵ - بھگوتی داس ہرکارہ فرمے عرضی بہ معرفت ہدایت الہیہ خان بہ نظر انور گزارید کہ گورو مقہور لغایت نہم ربیع الثانی سنہ ۵ دو کروزہ قصبہ بتالہ آوارگی دار و رام چند نامی سکھان وغیرہ بمعہ ہفت ہزار سوار و پیادہ از طرف کوهستان جموں آمدہ رفیق مقہور گردیدہ و ہر کہ ہنود و مسلمانین برای نوکری می آید نگاہ داشتہ خوراک می دہد و میگوید کہ لوت معاف است - مقرو نمودہ کہ اگر افواج بیاید مقابلہ بکند و اگر رایات عالمتاب نرسد براہ لکھی جنگل بطرف اجیمیر شدہ بہ شاہجہان آباد بروند

"13th Rabi-us-Sani, 5th regnal year (20 May, 1711).

Bhagwati Das *harkarah*, through Hidayatullah Khan, presented to His Majesty a news-sheet saying that the wretched Guru is encamped (loitering about) at two kos from the town of Batala upto the 9th Rabi-us-Sani, 5th regnal year. Ram Chand and other Sikhs with seven thousand horses and foot have come from the direction of Jammu Hills and have joined him. Who-soever from amongst the Hindus and Muslims comes to him for service is looked after and fed. He has granted the right of booty to them. It is decided that if the (Imperial) forces come, he will oppose them; if not, they (the Sikhs) will move towards Ajmer, *via* Lakh Jangal and go to Shahjahan—abad."

BANDA SINGH'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH RAJPUT RAJAS.

On the 10th of Rabi-us-Sani (4th Bahadurshahi regnal year) 1122 al-Hijr, 28 May, 1710 A.D., it was reported to Emperor Bahadur Shah that Banda Singh had written letters to Raja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur and Raja Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur, and that they had replied back to him. Evidently the reply was in the negative. For some time they waited for orders from the Imperial Headquarters to march against the Sikh leader. On the 19th of Sha'ban of the 5th Bahadurshahi regnal year (21 September, 1711 A.D.), it was reported that both these rajas were encamped at the village of Loni in the neighbourhood of the Capital and that they had moved 3 kos in the direction of Dahar for the chastisement of Banda Singh.

Banda Singh had by now come out of his mountain recesses and regained much of his lost position and prestige. According to Askar Rao *harkarah's* report of the 1st of Zi'ada of the 5th year, 30 November, 1711, the Sikh chief had written to Raja Ajit Singh and Raja Sawai Jai Singh. "Now that you have entered into our country, know ye that ye shall soon find me getting

into your country". But the Rajput rajas were steadfast in their proverbial loyalty to the Mughal Empire. They killed the Sikh spies (messengers), says the report, and said: "We are *khana-zad* (slaves) of the Empire. The wretched (Sikh leader) shall soon be killed or captured". And they announced it by the beat of drum in their camp that if any of the mediators or emissaries of the Sikhs was found there, he should be put to death.

THE SEALS AND COIN OF BANDA SINGH.

Unlike other adventurers and founders of kingdoms, the Sikh leader, Banda Singh, stands unique in his unpretentious and selfless service to his people. His noble example was followed by the later Sikh Misaldar conquerors. The *tughra*, or the royal titles on the official farmans, and the inscriptions on official seals and coins are emblems of legal authority. But Banda Singh was not actuated by any motives of self-glory or self-aggrandisement. He would not permit his name to be mentioned in any document, monogram or inscription. His official seal bore the following inscription, as reported to Emperor Bahadur Shah on the 20th of Jamadi-ul-Awwal of the 4th year, 6 July, 1710:—

عظمت نانک گورو هم ظاهر و هم باطن است
پادشاه دین و دنیا آپ سچا صاحب است

"The greatness of Guru Nanak is visible as well as invisible;

The king of the spiritual as well as temporal world is the True Lord himself."

This was later on replaced by the following:—

دیگ و تیغ و نصرت بید رنگ
یافت از نانک گورو گوبند سنگه

"Kettle (the symbol of means to-feed the poor),

Sword (the symbol of power to protect the weak and helpless), Victory and unhesitating Patronage, have been obtained from Nanak Guru Gobind Singh."

And the coin of Banda Singh had the following couplet as its inscription:—

سکه زد بر هر دو عالم تیغ نانک واهب است
فتح گوبند سنگه شاه شاهان فضل سچا صاحب است

"Strike coin in the two worlds: the sword of Nanak is the granter of desires;

Victory to Gobind Singh, the king of kings; All grace belongs to the True Lord Himself."

THE DEATH CONTROVERSY SETTLED.

The *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* have set at rest, for all time to come, the controversy about the death of Banda Singh. Some of the Sikh writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have allowed a good deal of fiction to be interwoven into his life. According to them, he was dragged behind a horse or an elephant and was thrown away in an unconscious state, from which he recovered and, later on, reappeared in the Jammu Hills. There he is said to have lived for twenty-five years more, dying a natural death in 1741 A.D.

The contemporary accounts in Muhammad Harisi's *Ibrat Namah*, Muhammad Habi Kamwar Khan's *Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chughata*, Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, and the *Farrukh Siyar Namah* by an anonymous author are all unanimous in saying that Banda Singh was executed in Delhi. But

if there was any possibility of a doubt at all, that too has been removed by the *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* of the 1st of Rajjab of the 5th year of Farrukh Siyar's reign, giving the news of the previous day, 29th Jamadi-us-Sami, 1128 al-Hijri, 9 June, 1716. The news runs as follows:—

« غره رجب سه - بعرض رسید که ابراهیم خان میر آتش و سر بردار خان کوتوال گرو
مقهور راجه پسر و هژده نفر همراه هیاتش را بموجب حکم والا به سمت درگاه
حضرت خواجه قطب متصل آب سبیل خواجه فتو برده اول پسرش را بقتل
رسانیده پیکش مقهور داده - بعد آن مقهور را با عذاب هائے بسیار بقتل رسانیده
بند از بنده جدا کرده - همراهیانش را نیز بقتل رسانیدند -

“1st Rajjab, 5th regnal year (10 June, 1716).

Reported that Ibrahim Khan, *Mir-i-Atish*, and Sarbrah Khan, *Kotwal*, having taken the wretched Guru, his son and his eighteen companions, towards the mausoleum of Khwaja Qutb near Khwaja Fattoo's *ab-i-sabeel* (free drinking-water place), according to His Majesty's orders, at first killed his son and gave him to the wretched fellow, and then put him to death with many tortures, hacking him to pieces, limb by limb. They killed his companions also.”

A person hacked to pieces, limb by limb, could not have come to life again and lived for twenty-five years.

In the end it may be mentioned that an effort is being made to print the *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* (Punjab News) in a series of volumes, beginning with the above as the first volume, followed by others containing the later *Akhbars*.



GLEANINGS FROM SOME UNPUBLISHED RECORDS*

[By Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.]

A. BIHAR VISITED BY IMPORTANT PERSONALITIES.

An important centre of civilisation, age after age, Bihar had manifold (economic, cultural and religious) attractions for men of other regions. Her economic transactions were varied and extensive, and she had lofty and inspiring cultural traditions, bequeathed to her by her old Universities of international fame and importance. Further, Gaya with sacred Vishnupada has been one of the holiest places of pilgrimage for Hindus in all parts of India. Then again, certain cities in Bihar, particularly Patna, became important centres of Muslim political influence and cultural activities during the mediaeval and Mughal periods.

THE RAJAH OF TANJORE IN BIHAR

In 1821 the Rajah of Tanjore obtained permission of the Company's Government in Calcutta to proceed on pilgrimage to Gaya. So, as we read in the letters, quoted below, necessary instructions were issued by the Governor-General-in-Council in Calcutta to their officers at different stations for their guidance in this matter.

“(1) Extract from the Proceedings of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council in the Political Department under date 5th March, 1821.

To

Mr. Surgeon Sutton.

Sir,

I am directed to transmit to you the enclosed Memorandum relative to His Highness the Rajah of Tanjore's pilgrimage through the Territories subject to this Presidency, a copy of which will be transmitted to the several civil authorities of the Zillahs through which the Rajah proposes to pass, for their information and guidance.

The necessary orders will be issued from the Military Department directing that on the Rajah's visiting a Military Station he be saluted with 17 guns.

(Sd.) G. Swinton,

Secretary, Government,

5th March, 1821.

A principal Native Officer of the Magistrate's Department to meet and accompany His Highness the Rajah of Tanjore throughout the Zillah.

Every facility to be afforded to His Highness in procuring supplies of forage, etc., and in passing rivers. Assistance also to be afforded in purchasing carriage cattle in the event of casualties among his present stock.

Advances of cash to be made by the Collectors of Zillahs on the Rajah's receipt in duplicate. The Bills of Mr. Surgeon Sutton, the Medical Officer in attendance on the Rajah, for his pay and that of his Native Assistant to be paid to him on his receipts. All such payments to be reported to the Accountant General, who will place the amount to the Debit of the Government of Fort St. George on account of the Rajah

* These records were found in the Record Office of the District Judge of Patna. After being carefully sorted by me these were transferred to the custody of the Bihar Research Society, where they are stored now.

The baggage of His Highness and his followers not to be subjected to search, or payment of import. The Rajah and his followers to be exempt from the payment of the tax on Pilgrims at the places of Hindoo worship, which he may visit during his Pilgrimage and every attention to be paid to him in facilitating the performance of his devotions.

Assistance to be afforded to the Rajah by the Magistrates for the protection of the Rajah and his family from thieves, on application being made for that purpose by Mr. Surgeon Sutton, as far as it may be deemed necessary.

Mr. Surgeon Sutton is authorised to correspond with the Civil authorities on the part of the Rajah on all points, connected with His Highness's Pilgrimage communicating to them timely notice of his approach and furnishing a list of the stages and of the dates on which he proposes to march or halt.

On the arrival of the Rajah at the Sudder station, he is to be met by the Judge and Magistrate, or in his absence by the Collector, and conducted to his Tents. The visit will be returned by the Rajah previously to his quitting the station. Native officers on their waiting on the Rajah to present a *Nazzer* of a few rupees.

(Sd.) G. Swinton,

Secretary to Government."

"(2) Since addressing you on the 23rd March I have been furnished with a list of the stages from Nababgunge in the Zillah of Bhaugulpore as far as Gyah. This I have the honour to annex* for your information. The Judge and Magistrate of Zillah Behar who forwarded me this list, does not mention if any of the villages are within your jurisdiction; but having understood from the Judge and Magistrate of Zillah Bhagalpore that Bar was under your charge I transmit it to you, with the dates at which His Highness the Rajah of Tanjore proposes to be at these.

The cause of the delay on the part of His Highness arises from his having quitted Bhagalpore to visit this place, from which he returns to the same road and proceeds to Gyah¹."

"(3) I beg leave to inform you it is the intention of His Highness the Rajah of Tanjore to take Patna in his route to Gyah; he expects to arrive at the former place on the 24th and quit it on the morning of the 28th for Dunneawa which village I understand is situated within your jurisdiction²."

"(4) I have communicated the contents of your letter of yesterday's date (which I have just received) to His Highness, who requests me to say he feels much indebted to you for your kind attention to his wants and has no doubt of being accommodated to his wishes in the house you have provided for him.

We shall, I imagine, arrive at Patna by seven clock tomorrow morning as we usually start at 3 a.m. a little part every morning³."

THE NAWAB OF MURSHIDABAD AT PATNA

"(1) It will have been intimated to you by the Government the permission which has been granted to His Highness the Nazim of Bengal to visit the city of Patna. It may possibly also have been communicated to you that His Highness has received the further permission of the Right Honourable the

* April, 21, Khothar; April 22, Direapoor; April 23, Murchanchee; April, Bar; April 25, Rancechaunk; April 26, Bykuntpoor; April 27, Futwah; April 28, Dumowan; April 29, Hilsah; April 30, Attah Seraic; May 1, Kundwah; May 2, Aidwaan; and May 3, Gyah.

¹ Letter from Sutton, Surgeon with His Highness the Rajah of Tanjore, to the Judge and Magistrate of Patna, dated, Camp at Deoghur, 8 April, 1821.

² Letter from same to same, Dated Camp at Bursra, 21 April, 1821.

³ same, dated Camp Bykuntpoor, 25 April, 1821.

Governor-General to proceed on an excursion to the Upper Provinces; in either of which cases, I have to solicit your kind attention and kind offices towards His Highness' wishes.

His Highness being in a delicate state of health, it may not be in his power to receive any personal attentions from you but if you will put yourself in communication with Ghalib Alee Khan, one of His Highness' ministers, to whom I have given a letter of introduction to your address, His Highness' wishes will be made known to you. His Highness proceeds by water and has been fully supplied with boats, etc., still, he may require your assistance in furnishing any deficiency which may have occurred on the way.

I request also that you will issue orders to your several Police Officers through whose jurisdiction His Highness is likely to pass, to pay every attention in their power to the wants of His Highness, at the same time taking every precaution against any impositions or misconduct his followers may be inclined to commit.

I have further to acquaint you that His Highness left Moorsshedabad on the 28th (September) and will proceed from this station tomorrow morning¹.

"(2) His Highness the Nawab of Bengal having returned to Moorsshedabad I beg you will send back the Despatches which accompanied my letters of the 11th and 13th instant²".

B. CASES OF SATI IN 1818-1822.

The uplift of women has been one of the cardinal features in the social history of modern India, and the first measure of importance in this respect was the abolition of Sati or the practice of a wife burning herself on the funeral pyre of her husband.

In pursuance of their declared policy of *laissez-faire* in regard to Indian social and religious matters, the Company's Government did not long take any decisive step to abolish it, but they only instructed their officers to dissuade the intended victims by gentle persuasion. Thus on the 28th January, 1789, Mr. M. H. Brooke, Collector of Shahbad, wrote to Lord Cornwallis, "Cases sometimes occur in which a Collector having no specific orders for the guidance of his conduct, is necessitated to act from his own sense of what is right..... The rites and practices of the Hindu religion should be allowed with the most qualified tolerance but a practice at which human nature shudders I cannot permit without particular instructions.....". He was informed in reply that his action must be "confined to dissuasion and must not extend to coercive measures or to any exertion of official powers". The Regulations passed by the Government in 1812, supplemented by others in 1815 and 1817, did not result in checking the practice as is clear from the available returns of Sati cases.

(1) On 7 December, 1818, Mr. Walter Ewer, Acting Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces, wrote to the Magistrate of Patna for his opinion on the following points:—

1st.—Whether the practice of Satee has increased or decreased in the District under your charge during the last three years.

2ndly.—If the practice has increased, what has been the cause of the increase?

3rdly.—What has been the effect of the interference of the Police Officers under the orders of Government by which regular Satees are allowed?

¹ Letter from Agent to Governor General, dated Jungypore, 1 October, 1824, to Mr. Tayler, Acting Magistrate of Patna.

² From same to same, dated 15, October, 1824.

4thly.—Whether the interference of the Police has by legalizing the practice been in your opinion a cause of the increased number of Satees or has it acted to the same effect in any other manner.

5thly.—If the practice is less frequent than formerly, to what do you attribute the decrease?

6thly.—What would be the effect of a law abolishing the practice of Satee?

It is scarcely necessary for me to request that in procuring the information necessary to form your opinion you will be extremely careful to afford no ground for the natives to suspect that any interference with their customs and prejudices is in contemplation."

(2) The Registrar of the Nizamut Adalat wrote to the Patna Court of Appeal on 24 June, 1822:—

"The statements from certain districts of Sutties which occurred therein during the past year being totally destitute of remark, the Court direct me to bring the circumstance to the notice of the Magistrates subordinate to your authority, and to require them to furnish Magistrates subordinate to your authority, and to require them to furnish in future, a brief explanation of each case, to be abstracted from the reports of their Police Officers, distinguishing whether the sacrifice took place by the ceremony of Anoomuran, i.e., cremation at a time subsequent to the burning of the husband's corpse, or Suhamurun, i.e., burning together with the husband's corpse and stating whether the deceased left any children and their ages, whether the Police Officers were present or not, and generally any other particular that they may consider worthy of insertion¹."

"(3) An extract from the proceedings of the Nizamut Adalat on the 24th May, 1822, respecting the Sati reports from 1821:—

Behar

In 1820—1.

In 1821—2.

Increment.

23. ".....Only two cases of Sutee are reported from this district. It is presumed that they were legal but no explanation is afforded, nor is it even mentioned whether or not the Police Officers were present. The Magistrate be desired to communicate further particulars in future."

City of Patna.

In 1820—5.

In 1821—5.

"24. The above remark is equally applicable to the City of Patna from which five Sutees have been reported².

C. SLAVERY.

"(1) It appearing from a case tried by me in Tirthoot that a boy stolen in the mofussil was brought into the city of Patna and sold to the Collector's nazir, and that the Kazee executed the deed of sale without making any proper inquiry as to whether the boy was the property of the seller. As such a practice may be productive of oppression I have to beg that you will do me the favour to inform me whether there have at any time been issued any Proclamations or Dastoor ul Amul from your office ordering the parties in such cases to give notice to the Police and whether you think such orders would be attended with good effect. The reason for my making the enquiry is that the Nazir.....he had never heard of any such orders whereas I think it is very probable that they exist, or at all events was to be of use³".

¹ Enclosed in a letter from the Patna Court of Appeal to Mr. W. H. Tippet, Magistrate of Patna, dated 25th June, 1822.

² Quoted in a letter from same to same, dated 5th July, 1822.

³ Letter from J. B. Illford, Judge of the Patna Court of Circuit to W. H. Tippet, dated 26th November 1821.

“(2) I was favoured with your letter of the (3) instant and as you appear to agree with me in the propriety of having a Register of the sale and transfer of slaves I beg leave to propose that a book be kept at the Principal Thanna and that all persons making any transfer of slaves be ordered to register them and that the Kazees and their scribes be forbid to draw up the deeds till they have ascertained that the transaction has been registered at the Thanna. Of course the Thannadar would be held responsible for making the necessary enquiry as to the right of property, etc., etc.

I should propose that the Register be kept in the subjoined form with any variations or additions which you may think proper and that a copy of it should be forwarded to the Magistrate at the close of each month.

Form¹.

Date	Name and description of place	Age and former residence of slave	Name of seller with his residence.	Name of buyer with his residence	Name of witnesses with their places of residence	Prices and conditions of sales

Slavery, whatever might have been the forms in which it prevailed, was a wide-spread and long-standing institution in the country². But like many other social evils, this one too was abolished through successive stages under the influence of the spirit of reform which characterised the first half of the 19th century. The British parliament abolished slave trade in 1807. In 1811 the East India Company's Government forbade importation of slaves from any other country into India, and in 1832 “the purchase and sale of slaves brought from one district to another was made a venal offence”. Act V of 1843 made slavery illegal in India.

D. LITHOGRAPHIC PRESS.

“We beg to apprise you that Government have established a Lithographic Press at the Presidency under the Superintendence of Dr. Kind for the purpose of supplying the Government offices with such forms as can be prepared with more economy and expedition than by means of writing.

Should you consider it advisable and likely to enable you to relieve the labours of your English and Native writers, you can indent upon the Superintendent for such Forms, as are in general use in your office.

As the Lithographic copies will be nearly Facsimiles of those you may furnish for the guidance of the Superintendent, it will be sufficient to you, to direct that your copy be prepared with attention as to the size of paper and spaces to be left blank, and that you insert in red ink the numbers of copies required, the date of despatch, and the office to which the forms are to be sent, these particulars being entered on the Form, will be sufficient for record in the Lithographic office, and will obviate the necessity of any letter being sent with the Form³”.

¹ Letter from same to same dated 29 November, 1821.

² K. K. Datta, *Bengal Subah*, Vol. I, pp. 492-495.

³ Letter from Fort William, Government Lithographic Press, 31st August, 1825, to the Judge and Magistrate of Patna.

The English East India Company had some printing presses. In 1674 the Court of Directors sent Henry Mills to Bombay with a printing press, types and a large quantity of paper. We read in Records, dated the 16th July, 1758, that the printing houses were not fit for use and were in an extremely bad condition¹. A printing press was in use in Madras in 1772, and "an official printing Press²" was started in Calcutta in 1779 under the superintendence of Sir Charles Wilkins. The Christian missionaries started a press at Serampore, and printing presses were in operation also in some other places in northern India³ during the early years of the 19th century.

¹ Margarita Barns, *The Indian Press*, P. 44.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO MAHARAJA MADEO SINGH OF JAIPUR AND SOME OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES

[By Khan Sahib Syed Hasan Askeri, M.A., B.L.]

The present writer was fortunate enough to discover, year before last, a little Persian manuscript, containing an unique collection of letters and documents, apparently compiled from the records in possession of Raja Har Sahai, a trust-worthy agent of Maharaja Madho Singh Sawai of Jaipur, and very soon a paper, based on some of the important letters in the collection and throwing fresh, almost new, light on Durrani-Rajput relations¹, during the fateful years 1759-61 was contributed by me to the ninth session of the Indian History Congress. Subsequently the revered Guru of the writer, Sir J. N. Sarkar, borrowed the manuscript and utilized some of the letters in an article² which he contributed to *Modern Review*, Calcutta. Unfortunately, the manuscript which bears no name is incomplete and many of the letters in it are devoid of dates and the names of the writers and the addresses. But a close and careful study of the contents leaves us in no doubt about the necessary particulars. Some of the letters in the Collection to which a mere passing reference was made in the writer's paper deserve a fuller notice because of their historical importance. They bring out some new and interesting facts. An attempt has been made in the following lines to give the English translation of these letters which may be divided into three groups:—

(a) Correspondence between Shah Alam and Maharaja Madho Singh with some extracts relating to allied subjects.

(b) Correspondence of the Raja of Jaipur with the Rohilla Chiefs³.

(c) A letter and a deed of agreement sent by Ahmad Shah Abdali and his Vazir to Ahmad Khan Bangash and a letter of the Bangash Chief to the Raja of Jaipur.

The following is almost the exact translation of a letter apparently sent by Shah Alam to the Jaipur Raja, sometime in 1173 A.H.⁴ or 1759-60, which tells us, for the first time, about the correspondence between the two and the activities of Shah Alam in the east:—

“You, the Chief of the devoted servants and the companion of the Caliphate and the cream of the Rajas of Hindustan, may continue to enjoy the royal favours and live under the protection of God. The letter despatched by you and brought by Rai Akhie Singh, conveying your sense of gratitude for the grant of sword and other favours, has been received and perused by me, the sacred and the high, and that which you told the said Rai about your being engaged, in accordance with the lofty command, with the work of servitude and devotion and the promotion of royal affairs, as the situation demands, has also been known. The knowledge of your fidelity of which a clear proof is the advancement of royal interests has evoked approbation and applause. I have become convinced of the sincerity of your devotion and the firmness of

¹ Already published in the proceedings of the I. H. C., 1945. There are many misprints.

² Probably the article was entitled “Despatches of the Abdali relating to the battle of Panipat.

³ There are some letters of Najibud-Dowla to the Raja of Jaipur which have been noticed elsewhere.

⁴ It is difficult to fix the exact date but the context shows that the letter must have been written some time between the proclamation of his accession by Shah Alam, (3 Jamadi I, 1173 or 24th Dec. 1759) and the replacement of Mir Jafar by Mir Qasim.

your loyalty and reverence in respect of the management of the affairs of the state. The royal standard was raised for regulating the affairs of Bengal and the royal camp had been pitched in the vicinity of Azimabad (Patna) when the news came that His late Majesty, the shadow of God, was murdered by the cruel hand of a disloyal faithless servant, and I, with the grace of God, and the aid of the unfading Eternal, ascended the throne of the Caliphate. Accordingly the lofty Farman was immediately despatched to you, the sincere one, and it behoves you to shoulder the responsibilities of that region and strive your utmost to repair the cracks there and give currency to the royal coin in all the regions of that side. With the grace of God a body of 30,000 cavalry is attending the victorious stirrup and the Rajahs and the chiefs of the neighbourhood have arrived and are arriving to offer their services. It is hoped that in the near future Jafar Ali Khan with Raja Ramnarain will offer their allegiance and attend the auspicious stirrup. If God wills, within a short time having accomplished the affairs of this region, I shall turn my attention towards that side and taking you, the Chief of the devoted servants, will proceed to punish the disloyal and refractory people of that side and restore quiet and tranquility to the creatures of God. Do more than what you have written for the protection of that region till the time the august cavalcade reaches there. The agents¹ of Jafar Ali Khan and Raja Ram Narain have arrived in the presence and they have sent letters frequently expressing their desire to seek the audience. Rai Akhe Singh had submitted in his own Arzdest, in accordance with your letter, that I should take Shujauddaula to the territory of Sujan Singh, Raja Barchandra Bahadur² whom you had induced to offer his allegiance and service to my royal-self so that you, the chief of the devoted ones, also might advance to that quarter and having arrived in my presence should participate in the management of the royal affairs. The Arzis of Shujauddaula Bahadur have also been received expressing his desire to kiss the royal threshold and he is expected³ in a day or two. If God wills, within a short time, in accordance with your request and after having settled the affairs of this region, the august cavalcade will proceed to that side. You should frequently write about your affairs, for in it lies the happiness of my royal self."

Sometime after, on 2 Moharram, 1175, or 3 August, 1761, Shah Alam wrote to Raja Madho Singh about his movements towards the west:--

"You, the purest and the best of the Chief servants, paragon among the distinguished ones, an exemplar of loyalty and fidelity, the cream of the Rajas of Hindustan, may enjoy the royal favours and know that the Arzi sent by you, the model of the servants, saying that you heard the happy news of the march of the royal standard and of halting at places for ordering the affairs of the world has been received and read. Now, on 2 Moharram, the world-conquering royal cavalcade has reached the vicinity of Jajmau and there has been a stoppage here for the sacred 10 days. As it is my earnest wish to proceed further, if God wills, very soon the neighbourhood of the capital will acquire lustre and splendour by my auspicious arrival. In the mean-while, it has reached my royal ears that on account of the movement of the disloyal one⁴ the chief of the servants, the noble governor Najibuddaula Bahadur, too

¹ According to Munna Lal (S. K. N.) the letter of the Colonel and Jafar Ali Khan had been received with Nazars while Shah Alam was staying at Mukundpur, Rewa, on 10 Jamadi, I, 1175 and an Arzdest of Jafar Ali Khan was again received on 1st of Shaaban of the same year. The author of S. M. says that Raja Ram Narain, sent deceptive letter after his defeat at the battle of Dehra at the hands of the imperialists.

² The writer has not been able to identify this personage.

³ This puts us in a difficulty. When the Nawab Vazir of Oudh advanced to receive Shah Alam on the other side of the Karam Nasa, it was not Mir Jafar but his son-in-law who occupied the Musnad of Bengal.

⁴ Who was he?

has set out from that side. You, the cream of the Rajas of Hindustan and the essence of the well-wishing ones, should immediately send a strong contingent to Mirza Jawan Bukht, the light of the eyes of the Caliphate and Sovereignty and you should prepare yourself to kiss the royal threshold. You should convey whatever you have to say through my noble, Nawab Mukhtaruddowla¹, whom I regard as my son and I shall know of it."

Probably three days later Mumtazuddaula wrote to Madho Singh as follows:—

"Maharaja Saheb, the bestower of generosity on the sincere ones. May you remain safe! After wishing to enjoy the happiness of our coming together which can not be expressed through words. I have to disclose to your friendly self that your Arzi has been conveyed to His Majesty and I have also done whatever was necessary to impress the latter with the increasing constancy of your devotedness. The King said that the devotion and the fidelity of the members of your family is hereditary and as during these days your Arzis have been frequently received, he regards you as one born in the family and as an old well-wisher. If God wills, at the time you seek the audience of the august majesty, you will become the recipient of special royal favours. It was at the instance and suggestion of this friend of yours that these precious words were uttered by His Majesty and this will become apparent to you from the contents of the special Shuqqa which has been sent in reply to your Arzi. I hope that you will continue to show your good will and devotedness by writing frequently about all the affairs there. You should also send your Vakil very soon here at Jajmau where His Majesty is staying for the 10 days of Moharram so that before you come yourself other notable chiefs sent by you should enjoy the felicity of royal audience. If God wills this will contribute to an increase in royal favours. With the grace of God I have been able to draw the attention of His Majesty towards your affairs exactly as it ought to have been. You will come to know of the details from the letters of Rai Kishorchand. You should remain devoted with your heart and soul in this very manner to the service of His Majesty and should always gladden the heart of this friend of yours by writing friendly letters. You, the Raja of that country, should also, in accordance with His Majesty's directions, send very soon a trustworthy commander with a suitable force."

That Shah Alam could count upon the support of Maharaja Madho Singh of Jaipur and others in his desire to punish the refractory chiefs and reduce them to submission is clear from the following extracts from (a) a letter written probably² by Raja Har Sahai to Shah Wali Khan, the Vazir of the Abdali and (b) a letter apparently sent to a trustworthy official of Maharaja Madho Singh on behalf of Nawab Nizam Ali Khan of Hyderabad at about this very time (Aug. 1761).

(a) After the return of the Imperial forces some dear ones conspired to call Malhar, the reprobated one, from Gwalior where he was loitering so that with his help they should be able to create disorders and disturbances. Shri Maharajadhiraja Saheb, in accordance with the royal orders, set out from Jaipur and as His Majesty Shah Alam Bahadur, the King, had also drawn his attention he wrote requesting him to proceed to that side and himself marched towards Tatwa (on the Chambal) so as to intercept that accursed fellow. After punishing some of the Zamindars who were in conspiracy with the enemy, he (Madho Singh) left a force there; Malhar finding no way to advance further, returned to his residence. As His Majesty's (Shah Alam's) stay in the

¹ It ought to be Mumtaz-ud-Dowla, the Bakshi of Shah Alam. According to Munna Lal he was a grandson of Itigad Khan. He has been frequently mentioned by Ghulam Ali and Khairuddin, the historians of Shah Alam.

² It has been noticed in the paper contributed to the 9th Session of the I. H. C.

Doab, at Jajmau, had become prolonged, Malhar finding an opportunity proceeded to that side and the Raja of Kota joined him. A severe engagement¹ took place between the forces sent by Sri Maharajadhiraja and the enemy at a distance of 10 Kos from Mukundra Malhar was wounded and fled away King Shah Alam Bahadur has been staying for some time on the bank of the Jamuna, at Hamirpur and the Gosain companions of Nawab Shujand-Daula pushed on to Jhansi² which had been in the hands of the enemies for some time and ravaged the territories. The Bundella and the Bhadauria Rajahs have had the honour of being in the royal presence....."

(b) The Arzi that you sent has been received and the news that the royal standard (of Shah Alam) has arrived at Jajmau and Maharaja Madho Singh of high rank has resolved to proceed towards Malwa, in accordance with the firm command (of His Majesty).

Certain extracts from the letters which Maharaja Madho Singh addressed to three Rohilla chiefs. (a) Sadullah Khan (b) Dundee Khan and (c) Hafiz Rahmat Khan and which were sent in reply to their letters of congratulation on his victory over Malhar and his Comrade-in-arms, Maharaja Rajrup of Kota, show the good relations that existed between the Jaipur Raja and the Rohillas. Though the language and the tone differ, the contents are almost identical and, therefore it would suffice to quote from the letter addressed to Sadullah Khan only.

(a)Your Joyous letter saying how you felt immensely glad and happy on the receipt of the news of the victories which through the gift and grace of God, the Almighty and the splendid exertions of the veteran warriors left an impression on the pages of times and your felicitations and congratulations have been received and have proved to be a source of great happiness to me. As from very olden times sincere friendliness and affection between ourselves rest on firm foundations, there is nothing strange if my victories and flourishing condition gladden your heart. With the grace of God, the force which under the command of the victorious warriors had been sent ahead devastated the territories of Maharao Rajrup and the Maharao shut himself within his fortifications. He has been sending messages seeking pardon for his crime. I have repeatedly received beneficent letters from His Imperial Majesty and from the King, the shadow of God, and Taliquehas (letters of Shah Wali Khan). You should always consider me as eager to see you and as not separate from yourself and should render me ever happy by sending letters and informing me of your affairs. As for other particulars, you will get the same in details and very clearly from the writings of Raja Harsahai, the sincere one of high rank, and from the statement of Radha Krishna.

As regards the four documents which include (a) an Ahdnama signed and sealed by Shah Wali Khan, the Wazir of the Abdali and sent in Shaaban, 1773; (b) an accompanying note of the Afghan king giving assurances to the Bangash Chief; (c) an account of the pompous march of Ahmad Khan Bangash to interview the Afghan King and the splendid reception which was accorded to him and (d) a letter of the Nawab of Farrukhabad to Maharaja Madho Singh asking him to accept him as an intermediary between him and the Abdali, it is worthwhile to translate the first two in full and remain content with a few extracts from the remaining ones.

(a) "I, the slave of the threshold of the king of kings which is a place of prostration enter into solemn covenant, on the basis of the holy words of God,

¹ It is on the victory in this engagement that the Raja of Jaipur received congratulatory letters from the Rohilla Chiefs to which he sent suitable replies as the sequel will show.
² According to the historian, Khairuddin, it was in the beginning of the month of Jamadi I, 1175, or the beginning of the third year of accession, that Shah Alam proceeded towards Kalpi and captured it and afterwards the forts of Moth Jhansi (I. N.).

with my brother, equal to my own self, namely, Nawab Ahmad Khan Bangash Bahadur Ghalibjang and bear the responsibility on myself of taking the written assurance of his most glorious and illustrious Majesty that as soon as the said Nawab comes into the imperial camp, his honour, dignity and credit will become more than those of thousand and the imperial favours will be bestowed on him in such a way as have not been accorded to any in Hindustan. The words of his enemies against him will never be entertained and he will be allowed to retain the office, jagirs, and territories which he has been holding from before. Nay, others will be bestowed on him on behalf of His August Majesty."

All the affairs of Hindustan will be regulated after consulting him and taking his advice. He will be immune from all harm. I, the servant of the royal threshold promise to treat his good and evil as my own and in this matter God, and the Prophet of God are my witnesses. If I am guilty of deviation it will be a deviation from the command of God and His Prophet".

(b) "Be it known to you, the sincere one, that at this time the grand Wazir has submitted that Ahmad Khan Bangash is a man of pure friendship and seeker of honour and is so serviceable as to be capable of doing many deeds. On his representation I have been gracious enough to put down my own auspicious signature. You, of elevated dignity, should remain assured that your sincerity is quite apparent to my fortunate self. Mine is a God-given kingdom and is meant for the Afghan race to take pride in and the Bangash Afghans are our own fellowmen and I consider them to be those of ourselves. Having set your mind at ease on all accounts come very soon to present yourself in my court, and if God wills, in every matter, your honour will be my concern and all the affairs relating to you, of high station, will be attended to as pertaining to that of the whole of one race".

(c) "It was yet four hours for the night to expire when his highness came out from his camp which was in a garden of Kol (Aligarh) towards the east and was at a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ Kos from the imperial camp. He was riding on the back of an elephant and he advanced with bands playing music, torches being carried by men, and chandeliers borne by gigantic elephants He arrived at the door of the house of the king where the grand Wazir and the great omrahs were present,..... The cap-wearers were standing in two rows with strict orders that no one.....should interfere with the men of his highness. The latter accompanied by all his chiefs and trust-worthy officials, numbering more than a hundred, proceeded to the presence of the emperor and offered two elephants, 1001 gold mohars, 5000 rupees, and 40 trays containing clothes of gold, figured silk brocade, mixed cloth of silk and cotton, velvet broad cloths, white cloth and chints which were the choicest gifts of Hindustan . . . He was honoured with a rich robe of honour etc. Then the emperor told him that all the transactions in Hindustan would be one in consultation with him. Then his highness went to Ashraf-ul-Wuzara . . . and sat and talked with him for two hours. The grand wazir said that they had to face two enemies in Hindustan, the Marhattas and its intense heat. The Marhattas were as good as overthrown and the summer season was about to expire. He added that the emperor wanted to regulate the affairs of India with the advice of his highness. There-after the latter took his leave, rode back on his elephant and entered his own tent one hour after daybreak. The general practice in the imperial camp is that neither the wazir nor Bakshi nor a great noble can ride on an elephant and none can dare play music or allow drums to be beat. All men of the army felt surprised. On his return the emperor caused it to be proclaimed in his own camp that none of the Wilayat should show religious intolerance towards the Hindus and Muslims of Hindustan and the weak should never be oppressed."

(d) "...I have written the particulars before.....Now that the emperor..... has sent many letters to your friend including one signed by him and another of the grand Wazir to the effect that the affairs of the country would be regulated in consultation with myself.....Our old and sincere friendship demands that you should, without standing on ceremony, convey all questions and answers through this friend of yours. You will learn the particulars from your Vakil, Rai Har Prasad."

A LITTLE KNOWN FACTOR THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH IN THE CARNATIC WARS

[By Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A. (Alld.), Ph.D. (London)]

The Anglo-French rivalry was the outstanding feature of the Carnatic Wars that started in the Deccan in 1748 and came to an end in 1761. The wars have got two distinct phases, viz., the first that came to an end with the departure of Dupleix and the arrival of Godeheu, and the second that began with the declaration of the Seven Years' War in 1756 and closed with the fall of Pondicherry in 1761. During the first phase the French under the leadership of Dupleix more than held their own, and attempted vast territorial acquisitions without adequate resources. When Godeheu made a provisional treaty in January 1755, the terms did not show the E.I. Company in any particularly favourable or predominant position. Indeed the French were more favourably situated in that year, with Bussy dominant at Hyderabad and the revenues of the Northern Sarcars secured for the maintenance of the French troops in the service of the Nizam. But after the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, the overthrow of Siraj-ud-daula, and the domination of Clive in the affairs of Mir Jafar in Bengal and Bihar, the situation changed completely in favour of the English in the Carnatic. The ultimate triumph of the English in the Carnatic wars has been explained with reference to various causes by eminent historians. Smith and Roberts, for example, think that the sound commercial position, mastery of the sea, and the superior military direction of the English were responsible for the triumph of the English. On the other side, the lack of all these and the blunders that the leaders of the French committed brought about their failure. Further, the value of the resources that flowed from Bengal to the help of the English in the Carnatic has been categorically stressed by Smith. He says, "it is futile to lay stress upon the personal frailties of Dupleix, Lally or lesser men in order to explain the French failure. Neither Alexander the Great nor Napoleon could have won the empire of India by starting from Pondicherry as a base, and contending with the power that held Bengal and command of the sea."

That is very true. But it has been nowhere brought out by any historian what exactly were the resources of "the power that held Bengal". I do not know if Smith himself realised the full significance of his remark or could visualize the exact magnitude of the resources that lay at the disposal of the power that held Bengal. Of course the resources of Bengal which was then regarded as the "paradise of India" were immense, but here we will take up only one type of the resources about the supply of which to their Presidency of Madras the E. I. Company were very much concerned, and which ultimately played a decisive part in the Carnatic Wars.

That was the supply of salt-petre which was needed for making gun-powder. Its abundant and unfailing supply from Bihar early attracted the attention of the Company in Bengal. It was needed in all the settlements of the Company in India and for supply to the King's government in England. Up to the year 1758 Coja Wajid, the American merchant of Bengal, retained the monopoly of salt-petre. The year previous to the accession of Mir Jafar to the Masnad of Bengal after the overthrow of Siraj-ud-daula, the Dutch merchants had tried to obtain the monopoly but had failed. The English in Bengal were not satisfied for some years past about their supply of gun-powder. One of the causes of the fall of Calcutta at the hands of Siraj-ud-daula in June 1756 was the inferior quality and insufficient quantity of gun-powder in the stores at Fort William because of which, as Governor Drake wrote, they could not defend Fort William. In his letter, dated 25 January, 1757, he wrote that they had only 700 maunds of gun-powder of which 1/3 was damaged and could not be used.

After the overthrow of Siraj-ud-daula and the succession of Mir Jafar as the nominee of the English, Clive took advantage of his dominant position in the Subah of Bengal and the dependence of the Nawab for military assistance on the English, and on the occasion of the Patna expedition (Dec. 1757—May 1758), while accompanying the Nawab, he applied to him for the grant of the monopoly of salt-petre in perpetuity to the Company. It was with much hesitation that the Nawab granted the request of Clive. The Calcutta Council writing about this in their letter to the Court, dated 31 Dec. 1758, felt "that nothing but his (Nawab's) fear of the English and the assistance he might have occasion to demand of us in case of any exigency induced him to comply with our petition for that grant." The monopoly was secured in March 1758 on the condition that the Company paid Rs. 15,000 to the Nawab and Rs. 10,000 to Ramnarain the Deputy Nawab of Bihar, and delivered 20,000 mds. of salt-petre to the Nawab for his own use every year. (Letter to the Court, 31 Dec. 1758, para. 66.)

This was secured in pursuance of the instructions of the Directors who in their letter, dated 11 Nov. 1757 wrote the following:

"With respect to salt-petre you are to provide in the best manner, and on the most reasonable terms you can, a sufficient quantity for the several ships to be sent home, not only from your Presidency but likewise from Fort St. George and Bombay, to which places we must depend upon your care for forwarding the necessary proportions, as the demand for salt-petre is very great, and the Company are by their Charter obliged, and do now actually deliver to the Government five hundred tons a year....." They wanted for requirements at home not 500 tons only but 2,000 tons every year. This requirement could be satisfied owing to the revolution in Bengal which had made the Nawab a creature of the Company, and because of which he had been constrained to grant the monopoly of salt-petre to the Company. Apart from supplying enormous quantities of this commodity to the Home government, they had to send equally large quantities to Madras and Bombay. The Home government needed it badly because of the Seven Years' War, and the ample and cheap supply of gunpowder must have been a decisive factor in the ultimate victory of the English over the French in this war which was waged in the three continents of Asia, Europe, and America. Similarly the Company fighting against the French in the Carnatic needed it in large quantities."

In their letter to the Court, dated 20 August 1757 the Council of Fort William wrote that they had supplied 4,000 bags of salt-petre by the ship Marlborough and 900 bags by the ship Mermaid to Madras. In their letter to the Court, dated 27 February 1758 the Council wrote that they had supplied 500 bags by the ship Doddalay to Bombay. In their letter to the Court, dated 22 October and 31 December 1758, they wrote that they had sent 6,200 bags of salt-petre to Bombay during the months of April and May that year. In their letter to the Court, dated 31 December they wrote that 6,000 bags had been sent to Madras on the 5th of April 1758. In their letter to the court, dated 29 Dec. 1759 they wrote that 6,600 bags, of salt-petre had been sent to Bombay that year. In their public proceedings, dated 20 December 1759 (no. 1451), the Council of Calcutta mention that they were despatching 1,000 bags of salt-petre to Madras on board the Léopard Snow. In their letter to the Court dated 29 December 1759 they wrote the following:

"We continue to purchase our salt-petre at Patna by virtue of the Purwannah obtained from the Nawab and expect about eighty thousand maunds of that article will be provided this season. Your orders relating to the quality of salt-petre to be laden on each ship and for sending a large supply of that article to each of the other Presidencies shall be punctually complied with." (Para. 43 and 44.)

Such were the expectations of the Company for the year 1760, which witnessed the most decisive phase of the Carnatic war. In their letter to the Directors dated 31 December 1758 the Council at Fort William had written thus about their superiority in all those resources which were required for winning the War against the French. "The plenty of money and provisions we can supply the gentlemen at Madras will enable them to carry any of their designs whereas, the total want of the French are in both and without any visible means of redress render it almost impossible for them to undertake any thing of moment. Over and above their want of money we are well assured there is a great scarcity of gun-powder among them, and this is an article they have little hopes of being relieved in, except from here as we have the whole of the salt-petre in our hands."

They had surmised correctly. Since the English had the monopoly of salt-petre, the French could not get an adequate supply of it, and since they could not, they lost against the British in the last phase of the Carnatic war that began in 1758 and ended in 1761. It was not merely the supply of provisions which they wanted, the want of gun-powder seriously handicapped their military operations on the east coast. It is little realised that this was one of the most decisive factors in the ultimate triumph of the English over the French in India. It may also be surmised that the unhampered supply of salt-petre from Bengal to England helped the English to triumph over the French in the Seven Year's War.

KANHUJI BHONSLE, SENA SAHEB SUBHA—REASONS FOR HIS REMOVAL

[By Dr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.]

Before the Nagpur raj was acquired by Raghuji I, the Bhonslas were deputed to collect the Chouth and Sardeshmukhi dues in Berar and the Gondwan on behalf of the Maratha empire. The Marathas had first obtained these rights by force of arms. Even in the regime of Shivaji his generals used to raid the territories of the other powers and would devastate and loot the country unless they were paid a quarter of the revenue as a price for saving the country from devastation. Shivaji's generals such as Prataprao Gujar and Parsoji Bhonsle had led armies in Berar and Gondwan and had recovered these dues. It was in 1699 during the regime of Rajaram, the second son of Shivaji, that Parsoji Bhonsle, grand uncle of Raghuji I, was for the first time, appointed a permanent officer under the title of Sena Sahib Subha to collect the Chouth and Sardeshmukhi dues in Berar and the Gondwan. He resided in Berar and made Bhamb, now in Yeotmal district, his headquarter. Parsoji was the first to support the cause of Shahuji after his return from the custody of the Mughal emperor. Shahuji, therefore, confirmed Parsoji's appointment as Sena Sahib Subha and collector of the dues in Berar and the Gondwan. . . . Parsoji used to stay with his army in Berar which was then under the Mughal Subahdar and would collect the dues, even though Aurangzeb the Mughal emperor, was personally present in the Deccan to annihilate the Marathas and the Muslim kingdoms in the Deccan. After the death of Parsoji in 1709 A.D., Shahuji appointed in his place his son Kanhuji Bhonsla as Sena Sahib Subha and collector of the dues in Berar and the Gondwan. Kanhuji also resided in Berar with a large army and collected the dues from the territory. He carried on raids beyond his jurisdiction in Chhattisgarh and Orissa. He was in office till 1730 A.D. He was removed from office by Shahuji and his nephew Raghuji I was appointed Sena Sahib Subha in his place. By the order from Shahuji, he was authorised to collect dues from Allahabad, Patna and even from Bengal in the east. Raghuji was also ordered to arrest Kanhuji and to send him to Satara in custody.

From several documents secured from private custody, while searching for historical documents in Berar and elsewhere, it can be inferred that the regime of Kanhuji Bhonsle, Sena Sahib Subha was oppressive and highhanded and it was equally prejudicial to the interests of the Maratha kingdom and to the subjects. All these causes led Shahuji to order the removal of Kanhuji Bhonsle from office and his ultimate arrest.

In order to support these conclusions, some five or six documents, which came to light in my search of documents, have been noted below:—

(i) Abhayapatra, a letter of assurance by Kanhuji himself to the Brahmins of Talegaon Dasasar in Berar. It was recovered from a Brahmin family of that place. While the army of Kanhuji Bhonsle was in camp at Sangam, a village on the confluence of the Wardha and the Bembla, the Brahmins of Talegaon met in a body with Kanhuji and complained about the oppression caused by his army and expressed their readiness to leave the place to avoid further molestation. He then issued this letter of assurance to the effect that they would not be henceforward troubled by the army and that they should stick to the place.

(ii) It appears that the army to Kanhuji was available on payment in internal disputes. From a statement of F. 1192 submitted by one Gangadhar Deshmukh of Talegaon in Berar to Raghuji Bhonsle, it appears that one Timaji Deshmukh was required by force to bequeath the Deshmukhi watan in favour of one Gajmalji. Kanhuji Bhonsle was, approached by the party of

Timaji.. He sent his general Tukoji Gujar who compelled Gajmalji to return the watan to Timaji. The document was found in possession of the descendant of Timaji at Ralegaon.

(iii) Three orders in original issued by Shahuji from Satara to Kanhuji Bhonsle, were secured through late Justice Kesharao of Hyderabad High court, from the descendants of Dharmaji and Chavhaji Deokate in whose favour the orders were issued. The first two documents are dated the 54th and the last one the 58th year of the coronation of Shivaji. The first document records the complaint that the army of Kanhuji molested the territory in possession of Dharmaji deokhate as mokasdar. The second document records that Kanhuji forcibly recovered the mokasa dues from the territories under the jurisdiction of other sardars. The third document also contains an order to Kanhuji to the effect that he should not molest the mokasa territories in others' jurisdiction and his army should not enter in others' territories and should not devastate them.

(iv) A Marathi balad compiled in about 1802 A.D. says that Kanhuji ill-treated and insulted Malkoji, a Mahar saint who cursed him that he would lose his office, would die in misery and ultimately his family would be extinct. This balad was obtained from a descendant of the saint in Berar.

(v) Two rolls of Persian documents were recovered from the records of the Jagirdar and the Deshmukh of Parwa in Berar. These are the statements of one Dhumaji Deshmukh ancestor of the present Deshmukh. These statements are dated F. 1143 and F. 1146 respectively, i.e., 1731 and 1734 A.D. Dhumaji was a big Jamindar holding four parganas in Berar as Deshmukhi watan and possessing 21 villages as jagirs before the reign of Anraugzeb. He maintained an army and held several fortified villages. He was regularly paying the Chouth dues for the parganas to Kanhuji. The ryot of the parganas was harassed by the army of Kanhuji, even the Deshmukh was not spared His strongholds were seized by men of Kanhuji. His property, including valuables, grain, cattle, etc., were taken in possession of. Ultimately he was arrested and was imprisoned first in the gadhi of Kolambi for five months and then removed to Morchandi where he remained in prison for 7 months.

He paid Rs. 20,000 as ransom for his release to Kanhuji who did not keep his word and failed to free him.

Several complaints were received by Shahu about his cruelty and high-handedness. Kanhuji had already incurred the displeasure of Shahuji by disobedience of his order. Shahu therefore removed him from the office and appointed his nephew Raghuji I in his stead and deputed Raghuji to arrest him and send him in custody under military escort.

Raghuji reached Berar with a large army. With the help of Ranoji his uncle, he laid siege to Bhamb, the fortified headquarter of Kanhuji. In the battle that ensued Raghuji won. Tukoji Gujar, general of Kanhuji was killed in the action but he himself escaped. In the end Kanhuji was defeated in the battle of Mandar near Wun. He was taken prisoner and was sent to Satara. The army of the Nizam under Khairullakhan, governor of Mahur came to know of Dhumaji's imprisonment. He was then released from custody and was reinstated in his watan as Deshmukh. Naro Appaji, general of Raghuji I learnt of the injustice done to Dhumaji by Kanhuji, he handed over possession of the gadhis and helped him in the recovery of the property usurped by Kanhuji.

The statement further records that Kanhuji remained at Satara in Shahu's custody for three years. Thereafter he managed to escape from prison and

went straight to Berar. He entered the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad. He made Kolambi in Berar his military headquarters and made military preparations

It is not recorded in history what the fate of Kanhuji was. His only son Rayaji was reconciled with Shahu and Raghuji I. He had his headquarter at Bhamb and held some mokasas in Berar from Shahu. He died without any issue and thus the family of Kanhuji became extinct.

THE BAILLIE BROTHERS

[By Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., Ph.D.]

An attempt is made in the following pages to present a connected personal narrative of the career of Hugh Baillie, the pioneer of East India Company's commerce with Assam, and his three brothers William, Lesly and Robert. The facts have been gleaned mostly from the manuscript records preserved in the India Office Library, London. It was through Hugh Baillie's persistent efforts carried on over a period of more than quarter of a century, 1763—1790, that the Government of Bengal and the Court of Directors realised the advantages of establishing commercial intercourse between Assam and the Company's territories. The expectations however were not fulfilled as Baillie had painted them in his periodic representations, owing to the jealousies and rivalries of European merchants, their oppressions of Assamese traders the civil commotions and strifes in Assam, and the difficulties of realising outstanding balances from Assam merchants. In 1789, Hugh Baillie had himself to recommend the abolition of his appointment at Goalpara, as Company's Resident and Collector of Rangamati.

Hugh Baillie, as the name indicates, came from a Scotch family. His father Dr. Hugh Baillie, Doctor of Laws, was for some time a Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court in Ireland.¹ After his retirement in about 1772, Dr. Baillie settled in London as a lawyer, paying occasional visits to his home in Scotland. His four sons, William, Hugh, Lesly and Robert, had served in India, and 'with reputation' as their father asserted. Lesly died commander of the Company's fleet in the Gulf of Persia in 1766 after having done his duty to the satisfaction of the Governors for twenty years².

The three other brothers were present in Bengal during the conflicts with Nawab Siraj-ud-Dowlah in 1756-57. William Baillie was in 1756 a member of the Calcutta Council being eleventh in order of seniority and also Military Store-keeper. Before this he had served as Chief of the factory at Judgea or Lakhimpore, a town in Noakhali in Bengal. In 1754 during his residence at Judgea he had received from the Indian *dalals* Rs. 32,000, calculated at 2½ per cent of the 15 per cent profit made by them on the Company's investment. This amount was supposed to be illegal, and made William Baillie liable to dismissal from the Company's service. He defended his conduct by saying that the sum was accepted by him "on no other consideration but his taking the trouble to judge in the controversies between the brokers and the people of the country". This explanation was not supported by the *dalals*. In 1755, the Council at Calcutta, with Roger Drake as President and Governor, directed Baillie to pay the amount to the Company's treasury in Bengal, and he accordingly paid Rs. 18,000 rather than quit the service.³

On June 18, 1756, Fort William was attacked by the Nawab's forces. Some of the women were sent on board and were embarked for Fulta. At 9 in the morning of the next day William Baillie, "who exerted himself on all occasions in a most disinterested and generous manner", undertook to see the women and effects sent away by boat. The Nawab's troops having pressed upon the Fort with great vigour the Armenians and the Portuguese became mortally terrified to take part in the defence. It was only by the personal efforts of Drake, Holwell and William Baillie that even the Europeans could be persuaded to resume their arms. At about 10, Governor Drake Commandant Minchin,

¹ J. H. Grose, *Voyage to the East Indies*, 1772, vol. II, p. 248.

² Misc. Letters Recd., Vol. 59, 1775.

³ Personal Records, Vol 14, pp. 641—47.

and crowds of Company's officers, merchants and sea-captains left the Fort and escaped on board the few ships which were still available at the river. The fugitives included Hugh Baillie.

William Baillie and the other two councillors Eyre and Holwell defended the Fort with the handful of men, who now formed the remnant of garrison. Baillie was wounded by a musket ball from the enemy on the side of his head, and was in that condition shut up in a room with 145 other Europeans. Holwell and Baillie were the first to enter the prison. Baillie, himself suffering terribly from suffocation and thirst and the pain from his wound, suggested one or two measures for the alleviation of the miseries of his fellowprisoners. Between 9 and near 11, wrote Holwell, "my friend Baillie; Messrs. Jenks, Revely, Law, Buchanan and Simson, and several others for whom I had a real esteem and affection, had for some time been dead at my feet, and were trampled upon by every corporal or common soldier". William Baillie's name appeared in the list of the victims inscribed on the Holwell Monument at Calcutta⁴.

Hugh Baillie was appointed executor of his brother's estate⁵. A month before the siege of Fort William, William Baillie had written to his father that his property in Bengal was worth £14,000⁶. After the recovery of Fort William by Clive and Watson, Hugh Baillie submitted his deceased brother's accounts of cloth delivered for bandages, cartridges, etc., during the siege⁷. Mir Jafar, the new Nawab of Bengal, according to his treaty with the Company was to recoup the Company and individual Europeans for their losses. In September 1759 and February 1760, Hugh Baillie received on this accounts Rs. 6,892-2-0 and Rs. 4,965-12-0 respectively; part of these amounts was presumably as compensation for the losses suffered by his deceased brother.⁸ The father however admitted afterwards that he had received Rs. 28,000 as his son William Baillie's effects⁹.

The news of William Baillie's death and the circumstances attending it reached England in private letters. Dr Hugh Baillie, indignant at the conduct of Roger Drake, submitted to the Court of Directors a vigorous indictment of the Governor's action. The charges laid were that Drake had given shelter and protection to a person who had incurred the displeasure of the Nawab, that he had not maintained the Fort at Calcutta in any position of defence, that he had deserted the garrison without taking with him the Company's books or effects, and that as result of the Governor's delinquency valuable lives and property were lost. Then added Dr. Baillie, "Amongst those who lost their lives miserably was my son. I hope the Hon'ble Court of Directors will not think I act an officious part in what I now say, I have done no more than my duty to my country, to the Company, to the memory of my son and to my family obliged me to do¹⁰." Roger Drake answered to these charges in a letter addressed from Bath on December 11, 1759. As Dr. Baillie was not in a position to produce any positive evidence of the Governor's misconduct the Committee of Correspondence informed Drake "that they did not think fit to proceed further in the said matter." In fact Dr. Baillie's attempt to induce the Court to open an enquiry into Drake's behaviour constituted all that was done by the affected parties by way of punishment for the loss of the finest settlement the Company possessed in India, and of so many lives and valuable properties¹¹.

⁴ S. C. Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. III, pp. 136-140, Vol. I, pp. lxxix-lxxx.

⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons., 30th May, 1757, No. 874.

⁶ Misc. Letters Recd., Vol 59, 104.

⁷ Bengal Pub. Cons., May 30, 1757, No. 874.

⁸ Beng. Pub. Cons., Dec. 4, 1759 and March 3, 1760, cited in S. C. Hill's "*List of Europeans in Bengal in 1756*".

⁹ Misc. Letters Recd., Vol. 59, 1775, p. 103a.

¹⁰ Dr. Hugh Baillie to Court, Oct. 1, 1759, Misc. Letters Recd., Vol. 41, 1758-59, pp. 216-23.

¹¹ S. C. Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. I, page c.

Dr. Baillie then set up his claim for the sum of Rs. 18,000 which his son William Baillie had deposited in the Bengal Treasury in 1755. This sum according to the rate of exchange at that time, *viz.*, two shillings and three pence per rupee, would be equivalent to £2,025. The Court of Directors granted Dr. Baillie a gratuity of 500 guineas, and Sir George Colebroke, Chairman of the Court, told the petitioner that the Directors intended to give no more. On May 17, 1762, Dr. Baillie signed a deed of release affirming that he had no further claims upon the Company. After the return of Clive to England in 1767 Dr. Baillie wrote a fresh application claiming the balance of £2025, but Lord Clive advised him not to submit it to the Court as Laurence Sullivan was then in power with the Company. It was feared that the claimant would not get justice in that quarter as he had written a defence of Lord Clive against calumnies thrown out against him in which Clive believed Sullivan had some part. In February 1775, Dr. Baillie submitted the petition to the Court of Directors along with the opinions of lawyers. On March 30, the petition was laid before the Committee of Correspondence and they confirmed the previous decision of the Court that no further sum could be paid to Dr. Baillie after he had signed the deed of discharge in 1762¹².

Dr. Baillie who was then in the eighty-first year of his age died a few months later. In October 1776, his widow Frederica Charlotte Baillie, living in 35, Great Mary La Bone Street, London, submitted a petition to the Court renewing the request for relief, as she alleged, "she was left in very narrow circumstances by Dr. Baillie whose income arose from the interest of money settled on his children". The Court rejected Mrs. Baillie's prayer¹³.

Robert Baillie, brother of William Baillie, was one of the sufferers during the siege of Calcutta, but it is not known what part he actually took in the defence or in the flight of the Europeans by boat to Fulta. One Baillie appears to have been captain of the ship *Wellcome*, and in the absence of the mention of Christian names in the documents concerned it is difficult to know whether it was Robert Baillie or his brother Hugh Baillie¹⁴. After the recovery of Calcutta, Robert Baillie applied to the Council to remit by bills on the Company a part of his deceased brother William Baillie's estate, which was refused, possibly in view of Hugh Baillie being already accepted as the executor¹⁵. In compensation for the losses suffered during the siege which were recouped by Nawab Mir Jafar, Robert Baillie obtained from the Bengal Council Rs. 27-0-0 and Rs. 303-7-0 respectively in October 1759 and February¹⁶. In 1759 he was appointed Master of the Workhouse with an allowance of Rs. 20 per month. A jamadar and four peons were placed at his disposal at a guard on the House of Correction¹⁷. In 1773 he held the office of Deputy Judge Advocate at Calcutta¹⁸.

Hugh Baillie, the pioneer of the Company's commerce with Assam, came to India as the captain of a vessel in 1749¹⁹, and resided in Bengal upto his final departure for England in 1792, paying only two visits to England in 1769 and 1781. He served as a volunteer in the defence of Fort William against Nawab Siraj-ud-Dowlah's forces. On the morning of June 19, 1756, during the

¹² Misc. Letters Recd., Vol. 59, 1775, p. 103; Personal Records, Vol. 14, pp. 641-47.

¹³ Misc. Letters Recd., Vol. 60, 1776, p. 145.

¹⁴ *List of Europeans in Bengal in 1756*, where both brothers, Hugh and Robert, Baillie, are described as Captain of *Wellcome*.

¹⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons., Nov. 14, 1757, No. 966.

¹⁶ Beng. Pub. Cons., Dec. 4, 1759 and March 3, 1760.

¹⁷ Beng. Pub. Cons., July 2, 1759, No. 1231.

¹⁸ Orme Mss., No. 167, W. Hosea, Chief of Hugli, to Robert Baillie, Nov. 26, 1773.

¹⁹ In the memorial submitted to the Court on March 15, 1771, Hugh Baillie stated his "having resided in Bengal 22 years". His residence in Bengal was again mentioned as having extended "for the space of 22 years" in his memorial of Dec. 21, 1773. Archdeacon Firminger stated that H. Baillie had come to India about 1756 as a sea-captain, *vide Runnypore District Records*, Vol II, p. 49, and *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. V, p. 144.

continuance of the siege he escaped with the Governor Roger Drake by boat to Huita, where he shared the hardship of other European refugees²⁰. He fought again in the retaking of the Fort by Clive in January 1757. On May 30 he was appointed Alderman in the Mayor's Court at Calcutta²¹. In 1758 his father applied to the Court of Directors for granting to his son some favourable opportunities either in the service or under the protection of the Company, in consideration of his patriotic conduct in the defence as well as in the recovery of Calcutta. The Court directed the Bengal Council to give Capt. Hugh Baillie, then in the sea-faring way, "option of residing in India under the protection of the Company by freemercnants indentures or to be provided for in our service in the sea-faring way if you can find an employment for him in that manner." The Court further showed their eagerness to help Captain Baillie by recommending to the Bengal Government "to fix him in such station as may render his service useful to the Company and at the same time be satisfactory to himself²²." During the hostilities with the Dutch in Bengal who had brought a large body of troops from Batavia at the instance of Nawab Mir Jafar, Baillie served as a volunteer under Col. Francis Forde, and took part in the engagement at Bidara where on November 25, 1759, the enemy were completely defeated and repulsed²³. On December 19, 1761, Baillie was appointed to the office of Mayor of Calcutta for the ensuing year²⁴.

In 1763 Baillie was at Rangamati carrying on trade on behalf of Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, and other merchants. As a result of the disputes with Nawab Mir Kasim over the payment of duties on articles of inland trade by Europeans and the oppression of natives by the agents of European merchants, Hugh Baillie was instructed by his principal Henry Vansittart to obey the regulation newly introduced by which "the English were to pay the same duties as other merchants and take the Dustuck of the Country Government²⁵." On the withdrawal of European merchants from the inland trade, Baillie closed his concerns at Rangamati. In 1765 he was appointed agent of the Society of Trade at Goalpara²⁶. During the second year of the Society's career Clive withdrew all European merchants from the several agencies²⁷. The Society itself was abolished by the orders of the Court of Directors of September 1, 1768.²⁸ Clive left for England in January 1767, but a few months before his departure he had recommended Baillie and a few other merchants for appointment as Factors²⁹.

On December 12, 1768, Baillie requested the Calcutta Council for orders to Captain George Staunforth, Commander of the vessel "The Queen", to receive him and his family on board the ship for Europe³⁰. On April 6, 1770, he applied to the Court of Directors for permission for his "black servant named Andrew to return to India on *The Duke of Portland*, the Company being at no charge thereby³¹." A year later, on April 3, 1771, his two daughters applied to the Court for the same permission³². While in England, Baillie submitted

²⁰ S. C. Hill. *Bengal in 1756-57*, I, p. 41.

²¹ Beng. Pub. Cons., May 30, 1757, No. 844.

²² Court's letter to Bengal, March 3, 1758, para. 88.

²³ Writers Petitions, Vol. 8, No. 26; Bidara was midway between Chandernagore and Ghisurah. S. C. Hill identified Bidara with Bhadreswar. *Catalogue of Orme Mss.*, p. 243.

²⁴ Beng. Pub. Cons., Dec. 19, 1761, Nos. 1, 14, and 19.

²⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons., Feb. 1, 1763.

²⁶ Select Committee's Fourth Report, 1772-73, App. 41, p. 513.

²⁷ Malcolm's *Clive*, Vol. III, p. 104.

²⁸ Malcolm's *Clive*, III n. 111; Home Misc. Series, Vol. 769, p. 530.

²⁹ Select Committee's Fourth Report, App. 3, p. 473.

³⁰ Beng. Pub. Cons., Dec. 12, 1768.

³¹ Misc. Letters Recd., Vol. 53, 1770.

³² *Ibid.* Vol. 55, 1771.

his first memorial to the Court of Directors on March 15, 1771, drawing their attention to the possibility of opening trade with Assam and Bhutan³³. This was followed by another memorial, dated December 21, 1773, to the same intent and purpose³⁴. He and his wife lived on intimate terms with Miss Frances Barwell and induced the latter to request her brother Richard Barwell to exert himself in Baillie's favour³⁵. On November 20, 1773, he requested the Court for permission to return to India, because his presence was necessary in Bengal where he had a considerable part of his fortune³⁶. He arrived in India in the summer of 1774, leaving Mrs. Baillie and the children in England.

Baillie had two children by his first wife Maria, Elizabeth, baptised on October 2, 1762, and Hugh, baptised on April 27, 1765. On the death of Maria he married Miss Anna Pearce on January 30, 1766, by whom he had a daughter Ann, who was baptised on June 17, 1767. Ann was married to John Henry Davies on April 3, 1788, who succeeded Sir John Day as Advocate-General of Bengal³⁷.

³³ Writers Petitions, Vol. 8, No. 26.

³⁴ Misc. Letters Recd., Vol. 57, 1773.

³⁵ *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XI, pp. 4-43; XII, p. 73.

³⁶ Writers Petitions, Vol. 8, No. 26.

³⁷ *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 492; Vol. V, pp. 328, 330; Vol. XXVIII, p. 203.

A FARMAN OF AURANGZEB

[By Mr. S. M. Jaffar, B.A., F.R.Hist. S., M.R.A.S. (London)]

INTRODUCTORY.

In the course of my quest for historical documents I lighted upon a series of Mughal *Farmans*. One of these *Farmans*—that which forms the subject-matter of this article—was issued by Emperor Aurangzeb under his own seal on the 10th of Rabbi II in the 16th year of his reign, in favour of one Sayyad Abdul Latif son of Sayyad Mubariz. It is at present in the possession of Sayyad Shahadat Hussain of Peshawar City, who has inherited it from his ancestors¹. It is in persian, written in beautiful *Nastaliq* hand on a thick piece of paper which has turned pale on account of age. It measures 36" × 17½" and is mounted on a piece of cloth of equal size so skilfully that the entries at the back have been left uncovered. It is in a fair state of preservation. Except at few places, which are indicated by dots (.....), the text is intact and distinct. In form and features, it closely follows the Mughal *Farmans* so familiar to us². On the top of it is the usual dedicatory religious formula. Below it is the Imperial *Tughra* (3" × 3¼") containing the name and titles of the Emperor and below that the Imperial seal with the name and titles of the Emperor contained in a circle which is surrounded by a series of smaller circles, containing the names and titles of his ancestors as far back as Timur. Then comes the text, followed by a *Zimn* or endorsement at the back—ten entries and four small seals. The presence of the Imperial seal and *Tughra*, the trend of the text and the texture of the paper, the nature of the contents and the diction employed, the style of handwriting and the entries at the back—all these give the document a stamp of genuineness and leave little room for doubting its authenticity.

TRANSLATION.

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE BENEFICENT AND MERCIFUL³O' BELIEVERS, OBEY ALLAH, OBEY THE APOSTLE AND THOSE IN AUTHORITY FROM AMONGST YOU⁴.

Ya Fattah

Ya Wase'

Abul Muzaffer Mohayuddih 'Alamgir badshah Ghazi son of Shah Jahan Badshah, son of Jahangir Badshah, son of Akbar Badshah, son of Humayun Badshah, son of Baber Badshah son of Chahin Shah, son of Sultan Abu Said Shah, son of Sultan Muhammad Shah, son of Miran Shah, son of Amir Timur Sahib Qiran. 1080⁵.

Ya Rafe'

Ya Nafe'.

THE HOLY APOSTLE OF GOD, MAY THE CHOICEST BLESSINGS OF ALLAH BE ON HIM.⁶ HIS (MAJESTY) HUMAYUN BADSHAH, THE ASYLUM OF FORGIVENESS AND LORD OF PARADISE.⁷

At this auspicious time the servants of the Court, which is the counterpart of heaven and the seat of *Khilafat*, have brought it to the notice of the Exalted

¹ I am grateful to Sayyad Shahadat Hussain Shah for the loan of this *Farman* to me for a few days.

² For a description of the prominent features of Mughal *Farmans* see my paper 'Mughal *Farmans* in Peshawar' in the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission* (1942) Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-37.

³ This is the usual dedicatory religious formula in Arabic script.

⁴ This is a verse from the Holy *Quran* in *Tughra* script.

⁵ These are the contents of the Imperial seal. The name and titles of the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb, are contained in a circular seal which is surrounded by ten smaller circular seals containing the names and titles of his predecessors as far back as Timur. All these seals are set in a square which has an attribute of God on each corner.

⁶ This is an entry on the top of the document just to the left of the *Tughra*.

⁷ This entry is just below the entry referred to in foot note 6, just to the left of the Imperial seal. As usual, the name of the deceased king has been omitted out of respect and entered separately on the top of the document to supply the omission.

- One (Emperor) that Rajah Hirde Ram and his son Jag Ram have created nuisance by usurping and forcibly converting into *Havell*, a garden, a bazar and shops the eight *Jaribs* of land with water (rights), situated in the *tooman* (district) of Bagram, popularly known as Peshawar, within the jurisdiction of the Subah of Kabul, which (land), originally allotted to Sayyad Mubariz, the custodian of the *Masjid* and *Khanqah* founded by Sayyad Abu Nasr, the *Amamadar* and *Ataliq* of His Majesty (Hymayun) in his reign by way of *Madad-i-Ma'ash* (maintenance allowance), was held, after his death, by his son, Sayyad Abdul Latif. This exalted *Farman* is issued to the present and future administrators and revenue officers to the effect that they should restore the said land to the abovementioned *Mir* from the *Mahal-i-Qadim* as laid down in the *Zimn* (endorsement) and, putting an end to the usurpation of the said Rajah and his son, release it in favour of the aforesaid *Mutawalli* (guardian) to be held by him and his descendants, one after the other, from generation to generation, so that after defraying the expenses in connection with lighting and carpeting of the *Masjid* he should spent the balance on his own maintenance and pray for the perpetual prosperity of the Government. They should allow no addition or alteration therein or set up any let or hinderance on account of land revenue and cesses and such dues as *Qalangha*⁸, *Peshkash*, *Jaribana*, *Zabitana*, *Mohrana*, *Begar-o-Shikar* and annual assessment after ascertaining the *Chak* and cultivation all civil obligations and royal dues. Apropos of it, they should not demand a fresh Sanad (authority) every year. Should there be anything (to the contrary), they should not rely upon it. Written on the 10th of Rabbi II in the 16th year of the auspicious reign.

ZIMN OR ENDORSEMENT

Despatched through Rizvi Khan, the exalted Prime Minister, the refuge of greatness and eminence, and the possessor of nobility and excellence, fit for royal favours and worthy of Imperial beneficence. The details of the *Yad-dasht* (memorandum), relating to the event, are recorded by Muhammad Ismail the humblest of the servants of the world-protecting Court, on Wednesday, the 19th of Shawwal in the 18th year of August reign, corresponding to the year 1085 Hijri (26th.....Ilahi). It is brought to the notice of the Exalted and August One that Sayyad Mubariz, the custodian of the *Masjid* and *Khanqah* founded by Sayyad Abu Nasr, the *Ataliq* (teacher) of (His Majesty), the asylum of forgiveness and the Lord of Paradise and the *Amamadar* of held 8 *Jaribs* of land together with water (rights) in the town of Begram, popularly known as Peshawar, by way of *Madad-i-Ma'ash* since long; that after his death the land devolved upon his son, Sayyad Abdul Latif; that Rajah Hirde Ram and his son Jag Ram built a *Haveli*, a garden, a bazar and shops on the land, forming the *Madad-i-Ma'ass* of the said *Mutwali* and thereby caused disturbance in the said land. The Mandate of the ruler, who exacts obedience of the whole world, is issued according to the ... event on the 10th of Ramazan of the yearto the effect that, putting an end to the encroachment of the said usurpers in the said land and water (rights), they (officers) should release it in favour of the abovenamed *Mutawalli* from the *Mahal-i-Qadim*, to be enjoyed by him and his descendants from generation to generation as before and that no reliance be placed on anything mentioned elsewhere. The event has recorded on the 26th of Ramzan as verified in the memorandum. Details in the hand-writing of Rizvi Khan, the exalted Prime Minister, the refuge of greatness and eminence and possessor of excellence and virtuousness, to the effect that an entry be made in the *Waqia* (Register of Events). Details in the handwriting of the Recorder to the effect that it is in accordance with the facts. Details in the handwriting of Kifayat Khan, the refuge of Wizarat, fit for favour and kindnesses

⁸ For a note on this tax, see my paper on 'Mughal Farman in Peshawar' in the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XVIII (1942 foot note 39).

to the effect that it may again be brought to the notice (of the Emperor). Details in the handwriting of Lutfullah Khan, the asylum of excellence and gentleness, to the effect that it again came to the notice of the August One on the 27th Ziqad in the 18th year of the auspicious reign. Details in the handwriting of Kifayat Khan, the refuge of Wizarat and fit for favours, to the effect that the exalted *Farman* be reduced to writing.

Eight *Jaribs* of land and water from *Mahal-i-Qadim*

Despatched through Rijvi Khan Sadr-i-Sudur, the asylum of greatness and eminence and possessor of gentleness and excellence, worthy of royal rewards and fit for the favours of the Khalifa of God.

(Circular seals each 1½" in diameter).

Rizvi Lhān, Sadr-i-Sudūr of 'Alamgir	Kifāyat Khān through the kindness of Shāh	Mir Hāshim Khān	Muhammad Ismā'il
Bādshāh. 22 d Jamādi II.....	'Alamgir. Dated.....	servant of Shāh	servant of Shāh
II.....		'Alamgir. Dated.....	'Alamgir. Dated.....

(Marginal Entries in *Shikasta* or running style).

Copy received in the Office..... On the..... Jamādi II, 18 C.	Copy received in the Office of..... on Jamādi II..... 18 C. (..... H.)	Compared with the Register of Events Entered in the Register of Events on 12 Shawal 18. C, i. e. 21 Rabbi; II, 18. C.
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Reached the Office of <i>Dawān-i-Sadārat</i> with <i>Barkhurdār</i> on 23rd Rabbi II, 18 C.	Through <i>Barkhurdār</i>	According to the memorandum of the event the <i>Farman</i> is reduced to writing.
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24th regnal year corresponding to 86 H. (..... 26th of Zilhij, 18C. Jamādi II, 18th year of August Accession corresponding to 1086 H. consigned to Government Office.
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IMPORTANCE.

A few words may now be said about the importance of this Mughal *Farman*. It reveals the existence of an old *Khanqah*, called *Ziurat Asa Shah Mardan* in Sar Asia, Peshawar City, and establishes its antiquity beyond doubt⁹. It is evident from it that the *Khanqah* was founded by Sayyad Abu Nasr, the Anauandar and Ataliq of Emperor Humayun. After his death, the founder was buried there and it has since been frequented by a large number of Muslims. According to a local tradition, it is called *Asa Shah Mardan* because in it lies buried the Asa or club of *Hazrat Ali*, who was famous as *Shah Mardan* on account of his prowess. Nothing is known about Sayyad Mubariz and his son Sayyad Abdul Latif except that they were the custodians of the *Ziurat* and the *Masjid* attached to it. The usurpation of the land attached to th's institution by Rajah Hirde Ram and Jagram in the heart of a Muslim-majority place (Peshawar) in the 16th year of Aurangzeb's reign is significant.

⁹ For a brief account of this *Ziurat*, see my '*Peshawar: Past and Present*', pp. 109-110.

A CASE OF INTERNATIONAL SEA POLICY IN 1797¹.

[By Mue Suzanne Karpeles, membre de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient].

The unexpected visit of two high Cochin Chinese mandarins², who landed at Calcutta in the year 1778, induced Warren Hastings to send Charles Chapman over to Cochin China, with a 'view to surveying the country³ and establishing commercial relations with it⁴. On his return, Charles Chapman wrote for the Government of India a "Narrative"⁵ of his mission, in which he mentions the King of Cochin China's opinion on the fame of English sea-exploits that had come to his knowledge and also the "illuse" they made of it, "attacking and plundering" the vessels they met. The King expressed the hope that, henceforth, none of his own vessels would be submitted to such treatment since English vessels were being allowed to come and trade in his ports.

One may infer from the above statement, that this King of an out-of-the-way country was totally ignorant of the law which was supposed to regulate maritime traffic and that he had not the faintest idea of the existence of the "Consolato del Mare"⁶ which as early as the 14th century had clearly laid down the rules dealing with enemy and neutral vessels and their cargo. In practice, however, "International Law" was but a mere theory, as privateering prevailed and was, as a rule, "recognised lawful". A case in point arose some twenty years later with the neutral brig *Armida*, sailing under the flag of the King of Cochin China. The vessel was captured "in violence to Laws of Nations and of Justice"⁷ by the Captain of the "Nonsuch"⁸ who has violated the Laws of Nations not alone in an insult to the King of Cochin China's Flag⁹...He was a type of East India man Captain¹⁰ not above "the smuggling industry", not to mention piracy, well aware that whatever happened, the old Queen Elizabeth's decree of 1589¹¹ which had been in force for centuries inspiring conflicts between belligerents and neutrals, and the tacit approval of the E. I. C. would cover him. In his "Journal Report" Captain Thomas noted the feeling of suspicion that the *Armida* and her Captain inspired in him and, had he not captured her; his "Honourable Employers" might have

¹ I. R. D., *Press List of Ancient Documents*, Government of India, Vol. XV, p. 119; Vol. XVI, pp. 83, 108, 110, 113, 144, 229, 230, 231, 232, 237, 271, 283, 326, 337, 338, 339, 362; Vol. XVII, p. 44.

² I. R. D., Home Dept., Public-1778-Cons. 12th Feby., No. 1.

³ Forrest: *The Administration of Warren Hastings 1772-1785*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 306.

⁴ *Calcutta Annual Register* for the year 1822, Chapter V, Miscellaneous tracts, Mission to Siam and Cochin China—I. R. D., Home Dept. Public-1778-Cons., 30th March, No. 18; and 9th April, No. 3.

⁵ *Asiatic Review*, Vol. III, June 1817, p. 543.

⁶ L. Oppenheim, *International Law*, London, 1926, Vol. II, Chapter IV, pp. 310-11, para. 176.

⁷ I. R. D., Home Dept., 1798-Cons., 20th Feb., No. 17.

⁸ W. C. Carey, *Good Old Days of Honourable John Company*, Calcutta, 1906, p. 115. Frigate of 36 guns, launched in 1781, Indian workmanship, remarkable for her speed. I.R.D. Home Dept., 1798-Public-Cons., 20th Feb. No. 19; Honourable English, E. I. Co.'s ship.

⁹ I. R. D., *Ibid*, No. 19.

¹⁰ E. Keble Chatterton, *The Old East Indiamen*, London, 1933, p. 153.

¹¹ Sir Herbert Richmond, *Statesmen and Sea Power*, Oxford, 1946, p. 12.

been entitled to think he had neglected his "Duty."¹² On the other hand the Captain of the brig, a Frenchman, Barys de Kioret¹³, who resented vehemently this illegal capture, wrote the following letter¹⁴ to the Governor-General in Council, giving a full account of Captain Thomas's strange behaviour:

"To the Hon'ble Sir John Shore, Bart, Governor-General in Council. Sir, on behalf of the King of Cochin China, whose commission I have borne for several years past, I take the liberty of addressing you, and beg leave to state, that under that commission and in the service of that King, I have commanded one of his vessels since the year 1793 and from that period until the 3rd of August last, have, in his service freely navigated all the Indian seas, have been in several parts in the possession of the English, —have had my ship and papers examined by several English Commanders, and by Admiral Rainier among the number, and that in all those instances due respect has been paid to the flag of my master to his Authority and to the Commission I hold from him, and that I have ever been permitted to pass free; I have further to add, that the powers and authority I possessed under his orders and sanction and the confidence he has all along placed in me respecting his commercial interests have been such as to enable me to sell, purchase, and barter all sorts of commodities for him to charter his vessel as I judged most proper or fit and that I have been accountable for my conduct and transactions to him only, upon each successive return to Cochin China. On my last voyage, I quitted Cochin China in a brig, and repaired to Japara but the seas and tempests having rendered my vessel unfit to proceed upon the service required, I was compelled to part with her, in exchange for another vessel which I was fortunate enough to procure for my master from the Chinese Consul at Japara. At Japara I purchased pursuant to my instructions, 3,400 Piculs of sugar and sundry other articles and on the 28th of May last sailed on board the vessel which I had there acquired, to deliver her cargo to Messrs. Harrop and Stevenson, Danish merchants at Tranquebar and agents for the King of Cochin China, with intention on my arrival at Tranquebar to take on board the articles which they were to purchase for the king my master, and thence to return with them to Cochin China pursuant to instructions. During the prosecution of the latter part of my voyage, on the 21st of July last, my vessel sprung a leak and not being able to keep her sufficiently free, I made way for Pulo Penang where I arrived on the 3rd of August at that port. Captain Thomas of the Honourable English East India Company's armed ship, the *Nonsucu*, came on board me, searched every part of my vessel, my private baggage, and even my pockets, seized all my papers, as well as my master's vessel and her cargo, which after turning me and all the ship's company on shore he there sold and disposed of, to great loss and disadvantage without any legal procedure, sanction or condemnation. Upon my arrival here, I addressed a letter to the Secretary of your Government informing him of my errand and business in this port. I am informed that the vessel and cargo not being within the jurisdiction of the supreme court of judicature here¹⁵, there is no tribunal in Calcutta which, legally, can hold plea of their being prize or not, and Captain Thomas has not attempted to proceed legally to a condemnation. Under

¹² I. R. D., Home Dept., 1797-Public-Cons., 13th Oct. No. 24.

¹³ John Barrow, *A Voyage to Cochin China in the years 1792-1793*, London, 1806. p. 271—"Intelligent French Officer who commanded a Frigate in the service of the Monarch"; and to whom Barrow owed "a considerable part of the sketch" he has given on *Cochin-China*, p. 280. The King of Cochin China had great faith in him and entrusted him with the charge of a vessel, to bring her to Canton to avoid fraud and pillage.

¹⁴ I. R. D., Foreign Dept., 1813-Political-Index-Consultation, 9th April, No. 1, Barys established the first commercial relations between an English—Madras firm and Cochin China's King.

¹⁵ I. R. D., Home Dept., 1797-Public-Cons., 27th Nov., No. 60.

¹⁶ 1773—inauguration in Calcutta of the Supreme Court of Judicature bringing all the Company's affairs under the control of the Crown, *vide Old East Indianmen* by E. Keble Chatterton, p. 153.

these circumstances without a single witness on the spot, without any change of having a procedure commenced against my, or the vessel which might be enabled to defeat, with the disadvantage of having all my papers seized and carried away, the only resource left to me is to apply to you in the present manner, and being informed, that all prizes captured by your own officers, are under your immediate disposal, and having full reliance on, and confidence in this Government, and that justice will be duly administered by you, I presume in the name of my Master the King of Cochin China, to require the restitution of his vessel, under my command together with her cargo or an indemnification for the seizure, detention, and sale, which have been contrary to the laws of nations. In the first instance every ship is to be judged by her papers, whether prize, or not, and as all my papers and those belonging to the vessel have been seized by Captain Thomas, and as I understand transmitted to you I have further to request that you will examine those papers, the only legal evidence now before you, and if any cause for my detention or the seizure should appear therefrom, that you will be pleased to proceed in some manner to a condemnation, by which I may be enabled to defend the property, or if no sufficient and just cause of detention, or seizure, should appear, that you will be pleased to liberate me and afford a remuneration for the damage, which my master as well as myself has sustained. A stranger in your country, and without witness at hand, and being compelled as speedily as possible to return to my master, I neither am prepared or wish to incur, the expense, or delay of a tedious legal process, and for those reasons, as well as a wish that amity should still subsist between the English and the King of Cochin China, I am induced to hope that you will speedily take this representation under your consideration, and whether this application for restitution or remuneration be successful, or not, that you will as soon as convenient, favour me with an answer whereby I may be enabled to return to Cochin China and lay before the King the circumstances which have occurred and acquit myself before him. I have the honour to be, etc.....Barisy, Calcutta, November 24th, 1797."

From the additional details contained in the report sent to the Secretary of Government by Captain Barisy's attorney, Mr. Aguiton¹⁶, it is given to understand that to Barisy's "utmost surprise"¹⁷ the Government of India did not intend to disavow its agent. Barisy decided to proceed to Calcutta, where he hoped to find "a justice open to all"¹⁸. Captain Thomas pretended that the English laws authorised the selling of the vessel and of her cargo "without a previous condemnation from the Court of Admiralty". But Barisy, in a letter to his attorney calls his attention to the following facts¹⁹. "When a vessel is regular according to the Laws and Customs of the country she belongs to, she must be so for all Nations, and as there is (to my knowledge) no treaty of Commerce and Navigation between England and Coch'n China which regulates, what papers, etc., etc., the Cochin China vessels are to have to be admitted into English ports, the English nor any other Nation have a legal right to oblige them to navigate according to laws unknown to them. Cochin China is not an European Power it is an arbitrary one...There is no court of Admiralty, no marine Board, etc., etc., to go through, the King's order, that is all!"....."It is a known rule that when a vessel is arrested on suspicion only, and that the captor is not competent to determine on the legality of the prize," he has to draw up an inventory of all that is on board, and seal up everything as he is responsible for any mis-doings as long as the vessel has not

16 I. R. D., Home Dept., 1798-Public-Cons., 23rd Feb., No. 18.

17 I. R. D., Home Dept., 1798-Public-Cons., 26th June No. 29.

18 I. R. D., Home Dept., 1798-Public-Cons., 26th June No. 26.

19 I. R. D., Home Dept., 1798-Public-Cons., 26th June No. 29.

been condemned, she is, by no means, his property nor can he take away anything. "No law authorises" such methods, but Captain Thomas was hardly a man of scruples he even refused to deliver a receipt for the papers he had taken away. This strange behaviour justified Barisy's opinion that he was "in the hands of Pirates". As for the Advocate General, before whom the Armida case was submitted, after having "attentively considered all the documents" relating to the capture of the Armida, he sent to the Sub-Secretary Public Department a note²⁰ in which he reiterated the offer he had recommended to be made to the claimants²¹, adding that he considered this offer as good as any remedy "which in justice they could expect to obtain from a British Court of Admiralty". He further observed that arbitration usually was "the means of determining contests in which the interests of private individuals are opposed to those of the Company;" in the present case the arbitrators were not competent "to determine upon what principles the question depends", that is why arbitration was "by no means advisable". In expressing this opinion on the Armida case, the Advocate General had taken little account of "the particular situation of the King of Cochin China, his supposed connection or influence with the Chinese Empire" and the complications of these facts. He was not "at liberty" to take them into consideration, as they did not "come within his province". He alludes here to the remark Barisy²² and Messrs. Harrop and Stevenson, the King's Danish agents, made in "pointing out the danger of the China trade if the King of Cochin China should appeal to the Emperor of Peking over the affair of the Armida²³". The importance the E. I. C. attached to the trade relations with China was duly stated in an official report²⁴ some twenty years later. In the present state of affairs the Advocate General perhaps thought it wiser to overlook an argument in favour of the thesis supported by the complainants as being groundless, though the King's envoy Colonel Oliver, too, calls attention to it²⁵. Speaking of Captain Thomas, the Advocate General is "of opinion that it is very advisable to call upon Captain Thomas for the amount produced by the sale of the Armida and her cargo, and in case of his refusal, to pay that amount into the general treasury, an action, may I think, be obtained against him, in the supreme court at the suit of the Company, for the purpose of recovering it from him, or at least so much of it as has come to his hands". In the meantime the King of Cochin China had "sent expressly²⁶" Colonel Oliver, a French officer of his staff, to enquire into the matter. He was surprised on hearing that the Armida had been taken

²⁰ I. R. D., Home Dept., 1798-Public-Cons., 26th June, No. 30.

²¹ I. R. D., Home Dept., 1798-Public-Cons., 26th June, No. 23. The Agents of the King of Cochin China considered a "most unfair and an unjust proposal to pay the ship and cargo as they were sold at P.O. Penang" much below their value and "if the Board were not convinced in their own mind of an injury done, they certainly would not, out of pure friendship, either for the Danes or the King of Cochin China, pay out the sum they have proposed and if we (the agents) have a right to Restitution, we have a right also to Indemnification. . . . due regard to the Laws of Nations requires ample restitution and Indemnity" it is in the interest of the Company to accede to their claims and a proper indemnity would be paid to Captain Barisy and his officers.

²² I. R. D., Home Dept., 1798, Public-Cons., 26th June No. 29, "would it not be feared that they would retaliate on some English vessels which trade in his country, or call for justice on the court of Peking?"

²³ I. R. D., Home Dept., 1798, Public-Cons., 26th June No. 25.

²⁴ Third report from the Select Committee appointed to consider the means of improving and maintaining the foreign trade of our country, East Indies and China. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. 10th July 1821, n. 203. "The East India Company attach great and just importance to this monopoly and state that the profits of their trade with China, constitute the principal resource from which their dividend is paid and that trade is in fact the main prop. of their financial system, in which the sale has an interest, etc., etc."

²⁵ I. R. D., Home Dept., 1798, Public-Cons., 15th July No. 30.

²⁶ I. R. D., Home Dept., 1798, Public-Cons., 16th July No. 28.

to the Prince of Wales Island under "English Colour²⁷" while the King of Cochin China had made "a general rule to assist the vessels which come to his ports". He had no doubt that Great Britain, aware of the amity existing between China and Cochin China, would not allow such an insult and injustice to pass without amends, thus confirming her reputation for justice and equity. If necessary the King of Cochin China would lodge a protest with the King of Great Britain through the Danish Ambassador in London. The Governor of His Danish Majesty's Indian possession, who considered the behaviour of the captor as "not only hostile to the Law of Nations but of a criminal nature", was ready to provide the King of Cochin China's Danish agents with "letters of introduction for Men of the first abilities in Europe²⁸". But the E. I. C had a powerful weapon in "the right to delay for two years before giving in an answer to any complaint preferred against them²⁹". On learning this the indignation of the King's agents reached its climax. If such was the case, it was evident that the E. I. Co's court of justice could not redress the wrongs committed by their servants. This indeed was an open permission to commit acts of violence and oppression, piracy, fraud and injustice, "and what a disgrace to the British constitution, and to the British Nation in general, but in particular to the Company's Government!" The last document found at the I. R. D. referring to the Armida case is a note from the Governor of Bombay requiring the papers concerning her detention³⁰.

²⁷ I. R. D. Home Dept., 1798, Public Cons. 16th July No. 30.

²⁸ I. R. D. Home Dept., 1798 Public Cons. 16th July No. 29. The first Danish protestant mission sent by the Danish King, reached Tranquebar in 1705 (W. H. Carey—*Good Old Days of John Company*, p. 32).

²⁹ I. R. D., Home Dept., 1798, Public Cons. 16th July No. 33.

³⁰ I. R. D., Home Dept., 1799, Public Cons. 13th May No. 66.

A NOTE NO TANTIA TOPI

[By Mr. K. D. Bhargava, M.A.]

A biography of Tantia Topi is still a desideratum. He was undoubtedly the best military leader, with the solitary exception of the heroic Rani of Jhansi, that the Mutiny produced. Yet no systematic attempt has so far been made to bring out clearly the conspicuous part he played from May 1857 to April 1859. The reason is not far to seek. In all that he achieved, his modesty and loyalty to his master prevented him from pushing himself into the limelight. His capture of Gwalior from Sindhia, in collaboration with the Rani of Jhansi, was a master stroke of policy, but as usual others got the credit while he remained in the background.

In spite of the large part he played on the stage of Indian politics for two years, Tantia's identity was a subject of wild speculation. In the contemporary official writings of the time, we find enough evidence of this. Mr. Beadon, Secretary to the Government of India, in a letter dated 15 April 1859 to General Napier at Goona conveyed the information that "General Outram has reason to think that Tantia Topce is Bhow Tambekar late Minister of Baroda.....".¹ Some even held the view that he was identical with the celebrated Nana Sahib himself².

Tantia's confession³ before Major Meade gives us some clue of his real identity. "My name is Tantia Topi. My father's name is Pandurang, inhabitant of Jola-Parganah, Patoda-Zillah, Nagar." In a letter⁴ from Mr. R. R. U. Ellis, the Political Assistant for Bundelkhand addressed to Mr. R. Simson, Under Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William, dated 7 March 1859, valuable information is supplied regarding the parentage and personal appearance of Tantia Topi. The information furnished to the Government by Mr. Ellis was based on the replies to his questionnaire by Kesho Rao⁵, Chief of Gursarai, Jalaun, who knew Tantia well. To quote from the manuscript⁶:—

"The real name is Ramchand; but Tantia is a second name which is known to all. Topay is a family title; and in the Marhatta language, Tantia is called father. Several Deceasee Brahmans and Marhattas also bear the name of Tantia. Topay means a Commanding Officer just as a Captain". It is usual for Dakshini Brahmans and Marathas to have such names as Bapu, Nana, Bahu, Tatya, etc., by which they are popularly addressed. Thus Balaji Farnavis is popularly known as Nana Farnavis, Sadashiva Rao as Bhanu Sahib, Peshwa Raghunath Rao as Dada Sahib. "Topay" is probably derived from *artillery* and means one belonging to the artillery, e.g., an artillery officer.

Tantia was by birth a Vashishta Brahman. His age at the time of execution, according to his voluntary deposition before Major Meade on 10 April 1859 at Mushairi was about forty-five years⁷. The manuscript, however, gives 42 years. Thus he was born sometime between 1814 and 1817.

¹ Pol. Cons. 22nd April 1859, No. 162.

² See the Memorandum on the question of the identity of the Nana Sahib. Tantia Topi and the Rao Sahib enclosed in a letter from George Plowden, Commissioner of Nagpur, dated 28th February 1859, (No. 24) to R. Simson, Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department. (Pol. Cons., 15th April 1859, No. 494).

³ Kave and Malleson, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. V, pp. 304—311 (Appendix B).

⁴ Pol. Cons. 30th Dec. 1859, No. 1361 Supp.

⁵ For a detailed account of his activities, see *Narrative of Events regarding the Mutiny in India*, Vol. I, pp. 574—584.

⁶ Pol. Cons. 30 Dec. 1859, No. 1362.

⁷ See Kave and Malleson, Vol. V (Appendix B), pp. 304-311.

Tantia has been described as "a stout man, of middling stature", with whiskers. "He has got a wheat complexion, and always wears a white chukri-dar Turban." To the question of the supposed identity of Tantia Topi with Nana Sahib, the Chief of Gursarai replied "Tantia Topay and Nana Sahib are two different individuals, i.e., Nana Sahib is Chutpaon and Topay is a Vashishta."

Nor were Nana Sahib and Tantia Topi related in any manner. It was supposed at one time that Tantia's sister was married in the family of Nana Sahib, but this mistake arose out of the fact that Bala Rao, the brother of Nana Sahib, had married a sister of Tantia Godbole and not of Tantia Topi. The manuscript is clear on this point:

"Tantia Topay's sister is not married with any of the family of Nana Sahib, for no Marriage intercourse is allowable between the family of Chutpaon, and that of Vashistah; but there is another individual by name Tantia Goorboolay, whose sister has been wedded to Balla Rao, brother of Nana Sahib".

The manuscript also contains useful information concerning Tantia Topi's early life. "Tantia Topay used to live in Bitoor and to serve Nana Sahib as an Aide-de-Camp during the time of the late Bajee Rao Peshwa. After the death of Bajee Rao, Tantia Topay was employed under Nana Sahib as Darogah or Superintendent of the Kitchen and was also for some time a Commanding Officer of a Company of Sepoys whom Nana Sahib raised "

THE OMDAT-UL-AKHBAR OF BAREILLY.

[By Mr. K. Sajan Lal, M.A., F.R.S.A.]

1 Last year I contributed a paper on Omdat-ul-Akhbar of Madras, to the Indore Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Now I have taken up its namesake, *The Omdat-ul-Akhbar* of Bareilly, as the subject of this paper.

It was in 1846 that *Omdat-ul-Akhbar* made its appearance, as one of the important Urdu news-papers of Bareilly. I have perused its volumes of 1854, '55 and '56.

This paper was published on Monday; each issue had 12 pages of two columns each. Some of its issues had sketches and drawings to illustrate scientific topics. The last page had a contents list and just above the contents list were the names of the subscribers, their designation and subscription for the period. The names of defaulters with the amount due were announced with a note to the effect that on failure to clear the old dues, legal steps would be taken against them at their risk. Sometimes 3 or 4 pages were reserved for the Agra Gazette, which was its regular feature. Lachman Prasad was its editor, but later on he gave up his post and joined the Madrasa of Bareilly as one of its teachers. He was also a member of the Bareilly Library Committee. Later on he was promoted as the Head-master of the Madrasa-i-Badaun on a salary of Rs. 150 per month. Lala Kalyan Rai succeeded him on 11 August 1853, and continued as editor upto 4 June 1855. It was from 10 June 1855 that Mathu Lal took over charge of editorship from him.

This paper had a wide publicity. In the list of subscribers published, we find the names of Babu Narayan Singh Rais of Benares, G. D. Inglis of Wazirabad, Lala Heralal, Lala Tulsi Ram, Munshi Madhav Sing, Raja Shiveraj Sing, Pandit Jeo Rakhen, Munshi Subharam, Munshi Muhammad Hasan, Muhammad Sadiq, Kunwar Jainti Prasad, Charles Horn, Mr. Dig. Raja Sheo Prashad, Mr. Williams¹, Nawab of Farukhabad, Nawab of Rampur. The Government of the North Western Provinces subscribed for six copies of this paper.

The paper referred to *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* (Delhi), *The Qiran-us-Sadain*² (Delhi), *Nur-i-Magrab*³ (Delhi), *Fwaid-un-Nazir*⁴ (Delhi), *Gulshan-i-Nao-Bahar* (Calcutta), *Sultan-ul-Akhbar* (Calcutta), *Kohi-Nur* (Lahore), *Chasama-i-Faiz* (Sialkot), *Shua-us-Shams* (Multan), *Murtaza-i-Akhbar* (Peshawar), *Nur-ul-Absar* (Agra), *Akhbar-ul-Haqaiq*⁵ (Agra), *Mathla-ul-Akhbar* (Agra), *Subha-i-Sadiq* (Madras), *The Malwa Akhbar*⁶ *Tilusum-i-Lucknow*, *Aftab-i-Hind* (Benares), etc.

The special object of this paper was to give full publicity to social, educational and cultural topics of the day. With the heralding of a new year, the editor would give a retrospect or review of the year passed by. For example,

¹ Mr. William's work in the Jabulpur Jail was praised but in the list of defaulters his name appeared with a note of warning from the editor to clear up his dues for three years ending December 1856, failing which legal action would be taken against him.

² *Vide* my paper published in the Proceedings of the I. H. R. C. Trivandrum Session, pp. 187-190.

³ Read Dr. I. H. Qureshi's paper, published in the Proceedings of the I. H. R. C., Mysore Session, pp. 258-62.

⁴ *Vide* my paper published in the Proceedings of the I. H. R. C., Trivandrum, pp. 187-190.

⁵ *Vide* my paper published in the Proceedings of the I. H. R. C., Peshawar Session, pp. 68-69.

⁶ *Vide* my paper published in the Proceedings in the I. H. R. C., Aligarh Session, pp. 53-55.

in the first issue of 1856, the editor gave a running commentary on the important incidents of the preceding year. The important events discussed were the Russo-Turkish War, the Afghan Affairs, the Afghan envoy at the Court of Sir John Lawrence, Dacoity and Murder in Khyber, Herat Incident, Negotiations with Afghanistan, the quarrels between Maharaja Gulab Sing and Jauher Sing.

In the words of the editor, 14 July 1855 would be remembered by the people of Oudh, for it was on that date that the Nawab Wajid Ali Shah dressed himself as "Jogi", and ordered his courtiers to attire themselves similarly and go with him to a mela. The editor says that this incident created ill-feelings among the Muslims who were averse to their ruler's action in such a manner and perhaps this was one of the causes that brought about the riot at Hanuman-gadi which culminated in the death of Molvi Amir Ali and his followers.

The unpopular Collector of Malabar was murdered in September of the year. Brigadier Mackenzie's army rose in revolt, and caused him personal injuries. There was an irreconcilable dispute between the Maharaja of Udaipur and his nobles.

Turning to the South Indian States, the editor blames the Maharaja of Travancore for countenancing slave trade in his State. After commenting on the Burma and Bengal affairs and the revolt of the Santals, he closes the review with the hope and prayers for a happy New Year.

This paper took a keen interest in reporting regularly all the items of news and incidents both important and trifling, in connection with the annexation of Oudh. No less than two full pages of each issue were devoted to the day-to-day happenings. The editor carefully traces the relations of that State with the East India Company and brings his narrative up to date. A summary of a few items may not be uninteresting.

Strong rumours persisted regarding the annexation of Oudh. The fate of the State was being discussed in various contemporary newspapers. Ominously it was reported that the first Infantry under the command of Captain Stokes revolted at Kapreddy 163 miles South of Lucknow and that the Rajkumar of Tulsipur, an under-state revolted against his father.

The arrival of the Resident with the 52 Royal Battalion, two Indian Infantry Regiments and guns, was followed by movements of the armies from Cawnpur towards Lucknow. General Outram arrived from Cawnpur. At his interview with the Nawab of Oudh on 31 January he presented Lord Dalhousie's letter containing the ultimatum "sign or resign" within three days' time. The Queen Mother's pleadings having failed, the fateful Proclamation was issued deposing the Nawab and annexing Oudh to the East India Company's Possessions. General Outram sent for the ministers Ali Naqi, Raja Balkishen, Sharfud-daulah and ordered them to issue necessary orders. The Kotwal was commanded to submit a list of the Police Stations to Captain Weston who proceeded to take charge of them at once. The Nawab accompanied by Mumawar-ul-daulah, Najmud-daulah and Masihuddin shifted to Kaiser Bagh with his harem in which were the Queen Mother, the Khas Mahal, the Mashuq Mahal and other princesses together with the Heir-Apparent and his staff.

It is not possible to narrate here events which took place rapidly day after day, much less to refer to conversations and consultations which the Nawab had with his courtiers. It may be mentioned how some of them⁷ pleaded their inability to assist him with money and how some sincere ones⁸ tendered cash and jewellery to help him. The Nawab visited his Treasury for the last

⁷ Ali Naqi and Raja Balkishen.

⁸ Molvi Abdul Latif, Dahir-ud-daulah placed four lakhs of rupees and fourteen thousand Asnafis at the disposal of the Nawab. Dianat-ud-daulah, Bashir-ud-daulah, Saha-i-Beharilal, and others too ungrudgingly placed their cash and jewellery before the Nawab.

time to have a look at his jewellery, including his unique collection of 'Almas' particularly an elephant, a horse, and a cow, each weighing several tolas.

The newspaper gives full details of the properties auctioned day by day, at Mangol-Serai Kotli and Dilaram Kotli. Rifles and swords fetched Rs. 6 each. Among these were rifles and swords engraved in gold which were very highly prized acquisitions of the Nawab. Horses and buffaloes fetched Rs. 15-4-6 and Rs. 12-3-0. Elephants were sold at sums varying between Rs. 76 and Rs. 100 each. Subsequently from 1st October, articles and animals were sold still more cheaply so much so that a buffalo fetched annas four only. Poor animals of the Nawab's Khassa that could not be sold were destroyed.

For housing the Criminal Court the military acquired the Moti Mahal palace and other buildings.

The names of the Nawab's entourage are given as well as his correspondence with the East India Company asking for full facilities for his travel. Their replies appear in extenso. The Queen Mother and her party's movements are fully reported with comments of correspondents.

We may now turn to other items of news which the *Omdat-ul-Akhbar* retails. It is reported that on 19 January 1855, Sir William Gomm, Commander-in-Chief, moved with his staff from Sialkot towards Jammu. He halted at Tahir, half-way between Sialkot and Jammu, for luncheon. He moved further till he arrived in the vicinity of Jammu where Rajah Moti Singh accompanied by the Dewan Jawala Sahai and other dignitaries of the State, arrived in State to welcome him. The Maharaja Gulab Singh was present at the bank of the River Tohi to receive the Commander-in-Chief, whose arrival at Gammet Gate was marked by a salute of 43 guns. At the durbar, presentation of the Heir-Apparent's son Raja Partab Singh and the officers of the State, and the *nazars*, conversation, etc., are fully described.

Description of another important meeting between the Chief Commissioner of Peshawar and Sardar Gulam Hyder Khan, son of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, on 17 March 1855, covers three pages of an issue of the newspaper. The Chief Commissioner arrived at Jamrud and the Sardar with his nobles arrived at Sarsawela near Hari Singh's Burj. The Government sent Rs. 11,000 in velvet bags. Munshi Banulal, Mir Munshi, and Dattamal, Treasurer, paid a visit of respect to the Sardar who presented them (no more than) Rs. 450 and two dushallas. 18 March being Sunday no meeting took place. Details of the meeting that took place on 19 and 20 March cover more than a page.

The editor devoted three pages of one of its issues in describing the good work done by the authorities of the Jabulpur Jail where 450 thugs were serving life sentences from 1837. He praises the work of Mr. Browne and Mr. Williams. He says how within a period of two years the thugs learned carpet making, etc. By 1840, forty different workshops for handicrafts were opened, where 450 thugs and their 150 children were kept engaged, earning Rs. 800 monthly and the Government made a profit of Rs. 3,000 from the sale of provisions. When the editor of the *Khair-kha-i-Hind* visited a factory he found 1,000 persons working there, making handkerchiefs, carpets, bedsheets, tents, etc. Rs. 4,000 were disbursed as salaries while the income rose to Rs. 15,000. The editor comments very highly on this good work of Jabalpur Jail which turned vagabonds into respectable earning members of the society.

The paper gave full publicity to the work of educational institutions. The Madrasa-i-Bareilly started the Library Movement by forming a committee of prominent persons with Captain Horn as chairman to gather funds and books. Laehman Narayan Prashad was elected as the honorary secretary. Many local

(9) Neither Major General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, in his *Life of James Outram*, nor Kamal-ud-din Haider, in his *Tariq-i-Oudh*, has mentioned any of these things.

newspapers also gave full support to this movement and presented free of charge copies of their newspapers. The number of books presented was also noted.

Educational progress in Government schools is discussed in a detailed note by one of the correspondents, who paid a tribute to the generosity of the Government. He suggested that those who qualified at Government expense should pay 1 per cent. of their salaries for the education of the poor people of the districts. He says that the Government had incurred Rs. 739-9-0 per student. He gives the statement of expenses for a period of six years as follows:—

Names	1847-48	1848-49	1849-50	1850-51	1851-52	1852-53	Total
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
Agra School .	83 0 0	94 0 0	94 8 0	95 4 0	94 15 8	105 5 1	567 1 9
Delhi .	106 14 0	98 11 0	107 6 0	116 14 0	144 10 0	144 1 0	718 6 7
Benares .	158 8 0	175 4 0	196 3 0	161 11 0	141 10 0	144 1 0	1,003 11 0
Bareilly .	58 0 0	111 4 0	77 1 0	45 4 0	64 1 1	78 8 10	464 2 11
Roorki .	..	99 10 0	424 6 0	374 11 0	319 6 0	461 0 0	1,689 1
Sagar .	37 0 0	37 0 0	40 9 0	43 4 0	30 3 4	61 4 7	249 5

Scholarships awarded to the various schools for the year 1854 and 1855 are mentioned as follows:—

	For the year 1854	For the year 1855
Agra	...	24
Delhi	100	44
Benares	45	47
Bareilly	29	26
Sagar	3	3
Ajmer	20	...23

The work of the Benares school finds a wide publicity. On Thursday 1 January 1854, a lecture was delivered under the auspices of the Benares school, Mr. Tucker, the Chief Commissioner, presiding. The subject of discussion was 'Electric-Telegraph'. Practical demonstration was arranged. The speaker delivered his speech in English which Babu Sheo Prashad translated for the benefit of the audience. The names of important persons present are mentioned.

As the lecture and demonstrations were over, Mr. Tucker addressed the students. He narrated a very interesting incident which throws a flood of light on the character of Lord Dalhousie and the scholarship of Sheo Pershad, a clerk of the Chief Commissioner's office. The Governor-General was going from Kalka to Simla with a few attendants and the District Collector, with whom there was a student of the Benares school. The party being tired, Dalhousie rested in the Dawk Bungalow, while the collector and party were warming and refreshing themselves in a zamindar's house nearby. The student spread his garment in a corner of the Bungalow and was deeply immersed in reading. All of a sudden, Dalhousie entered the room. He was surprised to see the student reading. He talked with him for sometime and promised to send him some books on his return to Calcutta. Two years ago, Mr. Tucker said, this incident took place. Dalhousie was busy with the affairs of the state and yet he never forgot his promise. So saying Mr. Tucker pointing to Sheo Prashad said he was the student, to whom Dalhousie promised and then presented some books which were sent with a covering letter from the Private Secretary to the Governor-General.

The work of the Madrasa at Jaipur is fully described. On 7 November 1856, Captain Frederick William Eden, Agent to the Governor-General, inspected the Madrasa. Pandit Sheo Dain represented the Maharaja and explained the work of the institution, while Munshi Keshav Sarup, the Superintendent, took him round the classes. The Agent was pleased with the work of the Madrasa. He asked questions to the boys and seemed pleased with their answers. Afterwards he distributed prizes and gold medals, viz., the Maharaja's gold medal, Dewan Shoe Dain's gold medal and Major Burton's three gold medals. At the close of the function, he made an announcement to the effect that he would present a gold medal of the value of Rs. 50 to the student of this school who stands first in English. He further announced two monthly scholarships one of Rs. 6 for Persian and the other of Rs. 4 for Sanskrit. The Agent congratulated the authorities of the institution and said that they owed the progress of the institution to the beneficence of His Highness the Maharaja. The editor pays a high tribute to the Maharaja and his able Dewan for evincing keen interest in education.

Wide publicity is given of the meetings held to collect subscriptions for the widows and orphans of the sepoys who died in the Russo-Turkish War. On 8 February 1855, a public meeting was held at Itanad-ud-daulah's mugbar, Dr. John Murray presiding. The chairman eloquently pleaded for generous subscriptions while Mr. Vazir, Sub-Assistant Surgeon, supported it. Peer Muhammad Hasan and Sadrus-Saddur also expatiated on the sufferings of the widows and orphans. Beharilal, Ram Narayandass, Mir Rehmat Ali Khan, Hakim Nasir-ud-din and Motilal were present. The following donations were announced:—

	Rs.
1. Mufti Inayat Ahmad Khan Sadrus-Suddur	... 45
2. Moulvi Syed Gulam Imam Vakil	... 45
3. Moulvi Fazle Ahmad Vakil	... 45
4. Lala Fateh Chand Vakil	... 45
5. Lala Kanyalal	... 20
6. Lala Sambu Persad	... 5
7. Lala Shanker	... 5

At Rampur, at a public meeting held to help the widows and orphans of the Russo-Turkish War, the Nawab of Rampur donated Rs. 8,000. Other donations were:—

	Rs.
Nawab Yusuf Ali Khan	... 4,000
Nawab Mehdi Ali Khan	... 100
Nawab Abdur Rehman	... 100
Lala Baldev Das	... 50
Sheo Prasad	... 50
Lala Ram Kishan	... 50
Lala Banulal	... 50

This paper gave prominence to the work of those persons, who, merited recognition at the hands of the Government, such as Sayyid Imdad Ali, Thakur Lachman Sing, Mian Sultan Muhammad, etc. A detailed note on their work, with the comments of the editor, appears in its issues.

The issue of 2 July 1855 gives the census figures of the Punjab as follows:—

Districts	Population
Amritsar	... 8,84,057
Hoshiarpur	... 8,45,254
Gurdaspur	... 7,87,417
Jalandhar	... 7,08,728
Ambala	... 7,52,017
Kangra	... 6,57,524
Sialkot	... 6,41,782

Lahore	...	...	...	6,91,683
Rawalpindi	...	...	...	5,55,750
Gujranwalla	...	...	...	5,53,283
Ludhiana	...	...	...	5,37,722
Gujrat	...	...	...	5,17,626
Thaneswar	...	...	...	4,94,748
Ferozpur	...	...	...	4,75,624
Jhelum	...	...	...	4,29,420
Multan	...	...	...	4,11,386
Gogira	...	...	...	3,19,325
Shahpur	...	...	...	4,61,692
Jhang	...	...	...	2,48,047
Simla	...	...	...	31,858

It also gives the census figures according to kishnets (divisions):—

	Population.
Lahore	34,58,322
Lower Sutlej Division	23,13,969
Upper Sutlej Division	23,51,946
Jhelum	17,62,488
Multan	9,48,753

The census figures for Peshawar Division having not arrived, the editor says that he expects the population of Peshawar to be about 50 lakhs, and that of Leh 2 lakhs. The total figures according to him would be 1 crore and 15 lakhs.

Advertisements appeared regarding the following journals:—(1) *Safir-i-Agra*, a weekly of six pages by Nagarmal, (2) *Mathla-un-Anwar*, a weekly by Shaik Omar of Gujrat, (3) *Mufid-i-Khalaiq*, a weekly of six pages, in Hindi and Urdu, published on Mondays by Sheo Narayan, a teacher of Madras-i-Agra, (4) *Agra Akhbar*, a Hindi and Urdu weekly, by Kanyalal, (5) *Sahar-i-Samri*, a weekly published on Mondays by Paudit Baijnath, Lucknow. Another advertisement appeared regarding the publication of a monthly journal under the title of '*Nur-un-ala-Nur-bil-Tajalli-i-tur*' (Light on Light with the Flash of Mount Tur) from the Chashma-i-Faiz (Fountain of Benevolence) Press, by Munshi Dewan Chand. The subscription was Rs. 4 a year.

It is interesting to note that the number of copies of newspapers which passed through the post offices in April, 1855, exceeded the number in August 1854 by 1,05,458 or 83.4 per cent., and the number in April 1856 exceeded that of April 1855, by 28,986 or 12.5 per cent.,

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF MYSORE POSTAL SYSTEM

[By Dr. K. N. V. Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (London), F. R. Hist. S.]

Any one who sees Mysore and knows that it is a large, progressive State, even called a Model Indian State, will wonder at the absence of its own postal system and currency and ask how or why they disappeared. It is proposed to answer the question relating to the first of these two institutions, with reference to official records.

So long as Mysore was an independent, sovereign kingdom, it had its own postal system, known as *Anche*. There is evidence that it existed so long ago as 1672 and was working satisfactorily under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan as the combined department of communications, namely, posts and espionage, and subsequently as a simple department of posts carrying letters and parcels.

The problem of its abolition arose in the period after the Great Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, and even the Commissioner of Mysore was surprised at it. He was frank enough to reply to the Government of India that Mysore *Anche* was too good to be abolished and the question might be taken up later on if it could not be dropped altogether. He added that unlike Hyderabad where there was confusion Mysore had been co-operating with the British (Imperial) post office even at a sacrifice of its finances.

Fortunately for him, the Director-General of Post Offices lent support to the case for Mysore.

Consequently the Government of India postponed the abolition in 1864 with a strange remark that the British postal system which would end the existing anarchy might be of a greater advantage to the country and that Mysore State could afford to pay in proportion to the work done.

In 1865 the question re-appeared, indirectly however, under the responsibility of native states for mail robberies in their respective territories. But once again the Commissioner argued the case of Mysore so skilfully with reference to constitutional law that the matter was dropped for the time being.

It was only in 1884, after the Rendition, that Mysore lost its own postal system and for no proper reason. The report of the Director-General of Post Offices was as follows in that year: 'The Mysore Government has an elaborate and, I am free to admit, an efficient local postal organisation, which I was told it will not willingly surrender.' Notwithstanding this lack of support from their chief adviser, however, the Government of India in exercising their rights of paramountcy abolished the Mysore system on their own conditions.

Extracts

(1) India Foreign Proceedings Revenue March—A 1863. Consultations 61—5. The Commissioner's observations on Mysore *Anche*. 20th January 1863.

NOTES:—(i) The Mysore *Anche* is entirely distinct from the British Post, and is peculiar to the province, its transactions being limited to the Mysore territory. It derives no benefit from any letters sent from or to British territory since all such letters are not liable to Mysore postage. The British stamps carry them free through the province.

(ii) Receipts and Expenditure in 1861-2 were:—

Bangalore division	36 stations	4,324 (receipts)	15,682 (charges)
Ashtagram ..	37 "	8,142	19,194
Chitaldroog ..	27 "	3,962	14,952
Nuggur ..	25 "	3,983	13,818
Headquarter Office		3,954	20,616
Miscellaneous		69	20,494 (including
			mail cart f om Bangalore to Mysore)
125 stations		25,234	1,04,806

N.B.—(a) The disproportion between the Receipts & Expenditure.

(b) At the minor stations the receipts are only $\frac{1}{3}$ of the disbursements.
 (c) The Headquarters Office is inordinately expensive.
 (d) The *Anche* department can scarcely with justice be debited with so heavy an outlay as the cost of a mail cart to Mysore through which station the British post also runs.

(iii) As in other departments of administration, there is a great number of ill-paid men, and the runners for the most part receive much lower wages than the runners of the British post office, whose lowest pay is Rs. 4. I do not think, however, that any change can be made in the existing establishment so long as the present system continues.

(iv) 1,29,873 letters and newspapers from and to the British territory were handled by the Mysore *anche* in 1861-2.

(v) The present irregularities can be removed by Postage Stamp System and by the abolition of ready money payments, "the latter presenting opportunities of speculation and dishonesty which are most difficult to prevent." Income would increase, 'while delay in the transmission of mails and the hardship of paying ready-money in out-of-the way places would be put a stop to'. Work of the department would be simplified.

(vi) In Hyderabad it is difficult for letters bearing British postage to be delivered in tracts lying beyond the Imperial lines.

(vii) The privilege of franking letters now possessed by the officers of the communication should be rescinded.

(2) *Ibid* April—A 1863. Consultations 10.

The Commissioner's observations on the British Post Offices in Mysore.
 14th March 1863.

(i) ". . . there is no principal point in Mysore to which Her Majesty's post runs at which there is not also a station of the Mysore *Anche*"; the convenience of the Mysore Government has not, therefore, been consulted in the establishment of the British Postal Department in the province.

(ii) "At the same time I am of opinion that Her Majesty's Post Office might hereafter to some extent entail its expenditure, the increase of which of late years is mainly owing, I believe, to the establishment of Mail Carts on some of the lines, to the appointment of inspectors, and to the increase of pay of certain offices.

(iii) "The Mysore *Anche* penetrates into every part of the province and has several stations in each taluk. Were every British line out of Bangalore stopped tomorrow, the communication within the province would not be interrupted; in fact. . . . the post of the province confers a great benefit on all surrounding districts of Her Majesty's territory, both from the number of stations, ready postal access to which is given, and from the fact that the Government Postage Stamp covers all letters sent into or out of the Mysore province. That the substitution of a postage stamp for ready-money payments would be a great boon. I have, I trust, proved in my letter (No. 401—20 January 1863); but I beg respectfully to demur to the observation in the Financial Department that the Mysore Government may with propriety contribute to the expense of the British Post Offices in the province, in as much as it is, I think, apparent that the Mysore Government can do without them, while the facilities for correspondence offered by that state surpass any correlative advances held out by Her Majesty's Post Office.

(iv) "In all Mysore there are, besides Bangalore, only 8 British Post Offices, to the creation of some or all of which the Mysore Government has contributed; whereas there are in the province more than 130 offices of the *Anche* Department. At three of the 8 stations where there are British Post Offices there are British Inspectors, viz., French Rocks, Mercara, and Hurihur; at Hoonsoor there is a Commissariat station; at Shimoga there is an office, but

the runners from that station to Hurihur and Toomkooor are paid by Mysore, and I think the office may be dispensed with."

(3) *Ibid* January-A 1864 Consultations 19-21.

The Commissioner's opinion on the Mysore Anche System with A. Arunachalam's views as Annexure. Dated 2 September 1863, and 31 August 1863 respectively.

(i) "Considering the great number of stations in Mysore at which there are at present local post offices, I conceive that the introduction of Her Majesty's Postal department on the footing on which it is established in Madras districts would be no improvement; on the contrary, I should apprehend derangement in the local posts, and I believe that the Service would not be as well conducted as it is at present, for it is a matter, I believe, of notoriety that the delivery of letters in Madras districts in places at a distance from the main lines is not by any means so good as in Mysore.

(ii) "The accompanying map (the return of which I solicit) will exhibit the number of postal lines and the stations where there are mootsuddies in Mysore. I do not think that any of these lines could be abolished with justice to the requirements of the people; consequently if the service were transferred to Her Majesty's Post Office, these lines must be maintained, if not by the Post Office, at any rate by the District Officers. But I conceive that, if the Headquarters establishment at Bangalore were abolished and the details left to the District Officers only, the whole system of communication in the interior would fall to pieces, without any counterbalancing advantages.

(iii) "With the sole exception of a money payment on being an inconvenient and cumbrous arrangement, I believe that the Mysore anche is, as respects the wants of the people and traders who reside in the interior, a better organised establishment than is to be found in the surrounding districts of Her Majesty's territory, and I should be loth, therefore, to contemplate any probability of its abandonment.

(iv) "It has, moreover, some advantages as an Intelligence Department, it being customary for the mootsuddies to report any unusual events within their ranges.

(v) "On the whole, I am of opinion that the anche is a useful department, which it should be our object to maintain and to increase the efficiency of by raising the pay of the runners from three to four; its abolition would, I think, be unproductive of good and certainly unpopular."

Bnkshee A. Arunachallum's opinion.

Notes:—(a) In the company's districts on the borders of Mysore there are two kinds of posts—Imperial or Regular, and the Talook or District. The former is in 2 to 4 places of each district and works under Post Master General; the latter is under the Collector and limited to the District. There is a Tappal Gomasta on Rs. 5 to 10 in the station of the Tahsildar and one runner on Rs. 4 at every stage of 6 or 7 miles. This runner brings sometimes the returning tappal; in most stations there is no night running. Hence there is always delay. Delivery of private letters is precarious as no receipts are granted to postmen and at best they are also dilatory, "notwithstanding the collection of a quarter anna on each cover in addition to the postage".

(b) In Mysore on the contrary there is a net-work which is complete and uniform. It is also speedy and economical. There is no division of post offices as in the previous case.

(c) The British postal system is too expensive for Mysore and will not be popular without the abolition of the District tappal at the same time.

(d) "The Anché is an ancient institution, combining the postal and Intelligence department, and it was not interfered with even in the time of Hyder and Tippoo Sultan; the abolition of so long-standing a system would, I think, be considered as an unnecessary innovation by the people. Independently of this, most of the other establishments in the province having recently been revised, and, in consequence, many persons thrown out of employ, the abolition of the anché also just at this time would no doubt cause great dissatisfaction among the peaceful and loyal subjects of Mysore, notwithstanding their partiality for the British Government in preference to all their predecessors."

SOME MORE LETTERS OF MAHARAJA ABHAYASINGH OF MARWAR REGARDING HIS GUJRAT CAMPAIGN

[By Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu]

Maharaja Abhayasingh, the son of Maharaja Ajit Singh of Marwar, who ruled from 1724 A.D. to 1747 A.D. was a brave Rathore ruler, like his father and grandfather.

When Emperor Mohammad Shah of Delhi became displeased with Raushan-ud-daula, on account of his dishonesty, Shamsa-mud-daula was appointed in his place. He, in turn, asked Maharaja Abhayasingh of Marwar, in 1730 A.D., to take charge of the province of Gujrat from Mubariz-ul-Mulk Sarbaland Khan, the then Imperial Governor of Gujrat, who was obliged by the Maharatta marauders not only to pay a tribute called "Chauth" to them, but also to cede the districts of Baroda, Dabhoi, Jambusar, etc. yielding a revenue of about Rs. 30 lacs.

The Maharaja accordingly marched towards Gujrat and forcibly took possession of the province of Gujrat from the unwilling Sarbaland.

We have already published a number of letters written by Maharaja Abhayasingh of Marwar, to his ambassador at the Mughal court in connection with his Gujrat campaign. Here again we give some more letters written by the said Maharaja to his ambassador, which will throw more light and fill up the gaps in the account of his Gujrat campaign.

Every letter referred here is impressed with the Maharaja's seal containing the following:—

By the Grace of Almighty Goddess Hingulaj, glory be to sovereign ruler, king of kings, supreme prince, Maharaja Shri Abhaya Singh Deva who shines like the Sun on the Earth.

Hari, Amba, Shiva, Sun and Vinayaka may these five Deities always bestow favours.

In addition to the seal, every letter also bears the approval in Maharaja's own calligraphy as under:—

"It is our command"

Further this seal and the approval find place between the top lines in Maharaja's own handwriting and the original letter.

FIRST LETTER

(Lines in Maharaja's own handwriting)

God is our protector

We have arrived at Sidhpur. Miyan (Sarbaland Khan) has sneaked away like a dog with its tail down. We have come to know that he has taken away (with him) artillery etc. belonging to this province. If he leaves behind the articles belonging to the province so much the better, otherwise we shall do away with him. Convey this news to the Nawab (Shamsamuddaula). It is our command.

(Original letter)

By command of the illustrious, king of kings, supreme prince, sovereign ruler, Shri Abhaya Singh Deva, Bhandari Amarsingh and Purohit Vardhaman should note his favours.

That on the 15th day of the dark half of second Bhādon (30th August, 1730 A.D.) Sarbaland Khan, leaving his headquarters, has come to Sarkhej. It is

reported that he intends to take away the royal artillery etc. with him. If he does so we shall have to punish him. Please convey all this to the Nawab. Now we are shortly leaving for Gujrat. It is our command.

Dated the 3rd day of the bright half of second Bhadon V.S. 1787 (4th September 1750 A.D.), Camp Sidhpur.

SECOND LETTER

(Top lines in Maharaja's own handwriting)

..... is between the camp. Now we are encamping at Adalach. From there, by the grace of God, we are punishing the Miyan (Sarbaland) and by the favour of the Almighty we shall vanquish him soon. You keep assured of our favours and manage every thing according to our orders. It is our command.

(Original letter)

By command of the illustrious, king of kings, Maharaja Shri Abhaya Singhu Deva, Bhandari Amar Singh and Purohit Vardhaman should note his favours. We are in receipt of your letter and noted contents. You wrote us for an early march, so we have already sent you the news of stages of our advance, which you might have communicated to the Nawab. Sarbaland Khan was ordered that he should leave the place, after taking the receipt of the artillery etc., but he did not heed it and after advancing has encamped in the fort at Kali. It appears that he has an intention different from that of serving the Emperor. So you would tell the Nawab everything. We are communicating to the Emperor after doing what is proper to be done against one who disobeys the order of the Emperor. The Nawab should rest assured of everything. To-day we have pitched our camp in the village Badas, which is at a distance of 24 miles. He (Sarbaland) has imperial Mansabdars with him, therefore have their Jagirs confiscated and get their family members imprisoned, so that no one may help him with free service. Asad Khan, Karim Khan and Kamaldi Khan are steadfast in the (Imperial) service. Get them letters of appreciation as desired. Sarbaland Khan has taken position behind the artillery. If (he) has any soldierly instinct in him he would fight us on horseback and we would cut him down within two quarters of the day. And if he remains behind the redoubt, it will take a few days. Therefore tell the Nawab that at present we have got a large army, hence arrange for the expenses. At this moment we are spending rupees six lacs per month and have spent rupees ten lacs from our pocket. Therefore tell the Nawab and get the money despatched immediately. You wrote us about the copy of the orders (Sanad) of Surat, Raushan-daula's tax on the Imperial Khalsa land, and drafts for expenses payable after two months. We have noted all this. We would have sent the opium just now, but at this time the affairs of Miyan came up, therefore after punishing the Miyan, we shall send opium very soon. You wrote us about handing over a draft of fifteen hundred gold Mohars to Koki Faqir. We have noted it. Do as we order you after our arrival in Gujrat. We have noted what you wrote us about Mohmad Khan Bangash and Raushanuddaula. Further write us in detail all about the place (Delhi). Hand over the petition to the Emperor and the letters to Nawab Khan Dauran. Kamardi Khan and Roshan-daula Khoja (eunuch).

It is our command

Dated the 10th day of the dark half of Asoj (Ashvina) V.S. 1787 (25 September 1750 A.D.), camp Badas.

Despatched on the 2nd day of the bright half of Asoj (Ashvina) (2 October 1750 A.D.), camp Kalol.

THIRD LETTER

(Lines in Maharaja's own handwriting)

God is true

By the command of the illustrious, king of kings, supreme prince, Maharaja. Therefore if any help is to be given, give it soon. We would not write again and again requesting for help like an ordinary man. Do as much as you can, otherwise we resign ourselves to the will of God. It is our command.

(Original letter)

By the command of the illustrious, king of Kings, supreme prince, Maharaja Shri Abhayasingh and his heir-apparent Shri Ram Singh Deva, Bhandari Amarsingh and Purohit Vardhaman should note their favours.

That we have ere this written to you about our requirements, so arrange accordingly. We have previously written to you all about the conditions here. Now Bajirao and Chimna have crossed the Mahi, with 40 thousand horse, and Kantha, Pilu, Uda, Tryambak Rao etc. have reached Surat, at the head of a large army. This is the position of the enemy, whereas here is no arrangement for expenses and military aid. Tell everything openly to the Nawab. Satisfactory arrangement can only be made on the action at Delhi, which the Nawab knows well and here the arrangements will be made only according to the income of this province. We will have to make every arrangement in order to maintain our dignity, but the Nawab should not do like this. We have taken up this task relying on the (help) of the Nawab, while the Nawab is so slack. It does not befit him. After acquainting him with all the circumstances, try to secure our demands and expenses. It is our command. Dated the 8th day of the dark half of Magha V.S. 1787. (20 January 1731 A.D.), Camp Ahmedabad.

(Despatched on the 10th day of the dark half of Magha (22 January).

FOURTH LETTER

(Top lines in Maharaja's own handwriting)

.....At that time.....It is our command.

(Original letter)

By order of the illustrious, king of kings, Maharaja Shri Abhyasingh and his heir-apparent Ramsinghji Deva, Bhandari Amarsingh should note their favours. That after driving away the enemy from Baroda and Jambusar, our army has invested Dabhoi. The fort at Dabhoi is also strong. The forts at Kho. . . , Champaner etc. (too) are very strong. So heavier guns are required here. Royal guns are at Surat. Arrange for them, by requesting the Nawab to issue urgent orders against Saurabkhan, the governor, as well as the fort officer at Surat. We shall return the guns after capturing the fort. Therefore as the representatives of Saurab Khan and the fort officer are there (at Delhi), manage to have them instructed by the Nawab, and get dispatched their letters as well, conveying the Emperor's orders not to delay in sending the guns. Waste no time in managing to send the emperor's orders as well as the letters of the representatives as commanded (by us).

Dated the 11th day of the dark half of (Ashvina) V. S. 1xx8 (1788) (15 September 1731 A.D.), Camp Jehumpher.

FIFTH LETTER

God is truth

(Top lines in Maharaja's own handwriting)

That we have received your letter and noted the contents. We are sending a detailed letter, so manage every thing accordingly. Don't be careless in anything. Do the work on a sound basis and be cautious in every matter. Continue writing us everything in detail. We have favourable regards towards you, therefore you should rest assured. It is our command.

(Original letter)

By command of the illustrious, endowed with all good qualities, king of kings, supreme prince, Maharaja Shri Abhayasinghji and his heir-apparent Ram Singhji Deva, Bhandari Amarsingh should note their favours. That we have received your letter and noted its contents. Other news were known to us by the personal interview of Bhandari Ratansingh and Dhanrup. That the sons of Sabat Khan were released on the recommendation of Kamardi Khan and Shahadat Khan and the Nawabzada wilfully had them imprisoned. Such things do not bring credit. These facts you wrote in detail and are known to us. We have also known by your letter your arranging an interview with the Nawab and also discussion with him about the posting of the cavalry, the bestowal of Jagir, the arrangement of military aids and his (Nawab's) views about these. We also note the grant of extra Jagir, etc. to Jai Singhji in connection with the case of the sons of Sabat Khan as well as the appointing of the Imperial aids for him. The reality of this is that we have seen the trend of the Nawab's mind. We have for a long time watched his actions, but he seems inclined to do nothing. Therefore we have thought a way out. So get settled everything accordingly. We have sent (other) letters, which please deliver (to Nawab). You wrote us about the leakage of the facts. How they invent tales about our action, which we have not even done. (But) we have thought out a remedy for it, which will soon be put to action. Keeping good faith and regard, you would settle everything definitely. Till the matter is fully settled keep the Nawab pleased with your diplomacy and let nothing leak out to him. Some instructions have been imparted to Bhandari Ratansingh and Dhanrup and they would communicate accordingly. It is our command. Dated the 7th day of the bright half of Kartika, V.S. 1788 (26 October 1731 A.D.), Camp Ahmedabad.

SIXTH LETTER

(Top lines in Maharaja's own handwriting)

That we have taken possession of Baroda and ousted the enemy from twenty four outlying forts. These news you might have received before this. Now the situation is this that the enemy is holding on at Dabhoi. Though Dabhoi is an ordinary place, yet the fort there is very strong. We have got cannons which can fire shells weighing six or seven seers only. As such they cannot produce any effect. We might take the fort by storm, but the moat around the fort is too deep, and the water being near at hand the moat is always full of it. That is why we are unable to storm the place. Further. . . (it) . . . is so broad and invulnerable on all sides. Hence persuade the Nawab to send urgent orders to the officer at Surat, so that they would send us 2 guns of heavy calibre immediately. Arrange to send the order direct, and a copy of the same to us here. Tell the Nawab plainly that afterwards on the advent of rainy season we shall be helpless to do any thing and being in possession of this place, the enemy will be able to interfere (in our work). Therefore he must not hold us responsible afterwards.

(Original letter)

By command of the illustrious, king of kings, supreme prince, Maharaja Shri Abhaya Singh and his heir-apparent Shri Ramsingh Deva, Bhandari Amarsingh should note their favours.

That we have sent you a letter ere this and seeing the Nawab you would try to do everything accordingly. We have compelled the enemy to vacate 24 fortresses. The enemy has (now) taken up his stand in the fort of Dabhoi, which is well-equipped with guns, other necessities and a sufficient number of soldiers. The fort itself is too strong. We haven't got any cannon, which may be able to reduce this fort. The rainy season is also fast approaching. Therefore if we can capture it now, we can do so. After the rains the enemy would be more powerful and at that time we shall be unable to capture the fort. Acquainting the Nawab with all these facts, arrange to send orders to the civil officer, fort officer etc. at Surat for supplying us with two heavy guns, and manage to despatch one or two urgent orders direct to them, so that the guns may reach us soon. You should lose no time in this work. Tell the Nawab in clear words that if there be delay in sending the guns and the enemy retains his foot-hold in Dabhoi, the fight would not be over, and after-wards we shall have to face many difficulties. But then the Nawab might say that we have not informed him plainly (in time). Get despatched an urgent order to Sorab Khan so that he may join us with his forces.

Dated the 2nd day of the dark half of Jyestha V.S., 1788 (1 May, 1732 A.D.),
Camp Baroda.

AN ORIYA LETTER FROM THE MADALAPANJI RELATING TO RAGHUJI BHONSLA'S MARCH TO ORISSA AND BENGAL IN 1743 A.D.

[By Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc.]

In December, 1946 when I was at Barambagarh in connection with some archæological works I came to know about this letter from Pandit Sribatsa Misra Vidyalankar and got a copy of it from his note book. Pandit Misra was deputed by Raja Saheb of Baramba State to Puri for collecting historical materials of the Baramba State from the Madalapanji which are kept under the custody of the Deul-Karan Radhamohan Patnaik and the letter under reference was copied by Pandit Misra from the palm-leaf bundle No. 60, page 80 Thanks are due to Pandit Misra for bringing this letter to light.

TEXT OF THE LETTER

Vīra-Kisora devamkara mīna 18 dīne Siddha Sri Bāhadura Khān jīm-kare Sri Jagannātha Mahāprabhumkara samasta Sevaka mānamku chītāu Narasimhapura Simānā Padāmāla ihāru lakhilum Rājā Raghujiu Mira Habibulā Khān Sāheb ghodāre aile Ambhe Phulajhari ihāre mulākāt Kalu. Tāmku Dasapallā sīma Belapadā ihāre pārakari Narasimhapura simāre kari Bada-ambi Athagada simare gheni Kataka galum. Paramesvaramku sevā Karuthiva. Ambhe eihāre thivāru Oḍisā Sarahadaku na jivāra jāniva

Translation.—(The letter), dated the 18th *Mina* of the reign of Virakisoradeva, is written by Bahadur Khan to all the sevaka (servants) of Jagannath Mahaprabhu at Puri from Padamal in Narasimhapur. Raja Raghuji and Mir Habibullah Khan came on horse back. I met them at Phuljhar and made them to cross (the river Mahanadi) at Belpada in Daspalla and I am on the way to Cuttack with them *via* Bada-ambi in Athgarh. Please do regularly the worship of the god. As I am here, they will not enter Orissa.

HISTORICAL NOTE

(1) *Position of the Rajas of Khurda.*—As the regnal year of Raja Virakisoradeva of the Khurda dynasty is not given in the letter, there is no certainty about the year when it was written. The 18th day of *Mina* of the letter corresponds to 30th or 31st March. Dr. K. K. Dutta¹ writes that Raghuji Bhonsla marched into Bengal in February 1743 and as Raghuji first came to Orissa also in 1743, it is quite clear from this letter that he arrived at Padamal in Narasimhapur on the 30th or 31st of March 1743.

According to Stirling², Virakisoradeva ruled from 1743 to 1786 and according to Hunter³ from 1736-1773. As Rama Chandradeva II, the predecessor of Virakisoradeva was living in 1741 and helped Rustum Jang during Alivardi Khan's campaign against him, Hunter's date cannot be accepted as correct.

The mention of Virakisoradeva's name in a public document like this requires some elucidation. Hunter writes as follows:—

“But although the Maharajas of Khurda have ceased to be an independent dynasty, they still exercise the most cherished prerogatives of an Eastern Royal House. The whole Orissa population date their documents according to the year of the Raja's reign.”⁴

¹ *Alivardi and his times*, 1939, p. 82.

² *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, 1825, p. 294.

³ *Hunter's Orissa*, Vol. II App. VII, p. 190.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 125-26

Stirling also writes as follows:—

“Down to the present moment the Rajas of Khurda are the sole fountain of honour in this district and all deeds whatever drawn out in *Uria* language bear the date of the *Anka* or accession of the reigning prince of that house.”¹

The power and position of Virakishora deva have been graphically narrated by T. Motte as follows:—

“When Ragoojee entered Orissa, at the instigation of Meer Hubbeeb, who had fled disgusted from Alliverdi Khan’s service in 1738, he found these parts divided into small zemindaries, dependent on the rajah of Pooree, at whose capital is the famous temple of Jaggernaut, near the Chilka lake. This prince was regarded by his subjects in a religious light also, and appeared formidable to the Mahrattās, who, apprehensive lest he might seize a favourable opportunity to cut off the communication between Nagpore and Cuttack, resolved to reduce his power by dividing it. He made the petty zemindars independent of him, and formed the chucklas of Dinkanol, (Dhenkanal), Bonkey, (Banki); Narsingpoor (Narsingpur), Tigoree (Tigiria), Tolchair (Talcher); Chunda Parra (Khandapara), Dispulla (Daspalla), Hindole (Hindal), Ungool (Angul) and Boad (Baud).”²

(2) *The route through which Marathas of Nagpur entered Orissa and Bengal.*—All the authorities, European or Indian, on the Maratha invasion of Orissa and Bengal are silent about the route through which the Nagpur Marathas entered Orissa and Bengal. From this letter however we came to know definitely that Bahadur Khan met Raghuji Bhonsla at Phuljhar from where they came to Belpada in Daspalla which is situated at the entrance of the Barmul Pass on the right bank of the Mahanadi. From Belpada Raghuji Bhonsla came to Pádamal after crossing the Mahanadi and then proceeded *via* Narsinghpur, Baramba, Tigiria and Athagarh which are situated on the left bank of the Mahanadi and recrossed the Mahanadi at Cuttack.

This route of Raghuji from Phuljhar to Sonapur seems to be the same as that followed by Leekie in 1790 with the exception that Raghuji came to Athagarh from Narsingpur but Leekie crossed the Mahanadi at Subarnapur and came to “Beálpára” *via* Charchika, Baidyaswar, Padmavati, Contilo. Regarding the comparative advantages of the route *via* Borasambar and that *via* Sambalpur and Sarangarh, for a journey from Sonapur to Raipur, Leekie writes as follows:—

“Tuesday 4 (May 1790). We struck off the usual road to Nagpore which is by Sumbhulpore and Sarangarh to go to Burrosumber district, which is shorter by six stages than the former.”³

In 1766 T. Motte travelled on the right bank of the Mahanadi from Cuttack after crossing the Kathjuri river near Cuttack to Baud. Motte notes that “May 25—I here struck out of the high road to Nagpore, and, crossing the river Maha Nuddee, saw it no more till I reached Sumbhulpore.”⁴

The Persian writers of the history of this period are silent about the route which brought Bhaskar Pandit to Ramgarh and Panchet (Panchkota) from where he attacked Burdwan. R. D. Banerji writes on the authority of Siar-ul-Mutakherim (English translation) that “Bhaskar Pandit the General of the

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, 1825, p. 293.

² *Early European travellers in Nagpur territories*, p. 27.

³ *Ibid.* p. 62.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 30

Maratha army, entered Chhota Nagpur through Chhattisgarh and fell upon the Midnapur district through Mayurbhanj and Panchit."¹ But at page 375-76 of *Siar* we find mention of the sudden arrival of the Marathas in Ramgarh area from where they turned towards Panchit and Mayurbhanj and fell upon Midnapore. Bhaskar Pandit's entry to Ramgarh or Hazaribagh area from Central Provinces could only be possible through Surguja State and Raich district and that is the reason which perhaps led R. D. Banerji to come to such an absurd conclusion. Dr. K. K. Dutta on the authority of Karim Ali and Yusuf Ali writes that "Bhaskar marched unopposed through Orissa * * * overpowered its deputy Governor Saikh Masum Khan and made his Peshkar Duriabham a captive. Then he proceeded through Panchet."² As Bhaskar Pandit marched from Nagpur in the company of Mir Habibulla (Riyaz-us-Salatin, English translation, p. 338) who was familiar with the routes of the Mahanadi valley Dr. Dutta's conclusion seems to be correct. Bhaskar Pandit arrived at Cuttack soon after Alivardi's departure for Bengal from Orissa, and as Alivardi followed the direct Badsahi road through which Motte travelled in 1766 from Jalasore to Cuttack, Bhaskar Pandit selected the direct route to Panchet (Manbhum) through the hilly tract of eastern Keonjhar and western Mayurbhanj and Singhbhum and Manbhum districts following the route which was followed by Firoz Shah in 1360 as recorded in the *Sirat-i-Firozshah*.³ Midnapore, Bishnupur and Burdwan can be easily reached from Panchakotu or Sikharabhum or Manbhum.

(3) *Mir Habibulla's relation with the Marathas of Nagpur.*—Riyaz-us-Salatin mentions that Mir Habibulla personally went to Nagpur to persuade Raghuji Bhonsla to undertake the conquest of Bengal whereas Siyar-ul-Mutakherin and Ahwal-i-Alivardi Khan mention that he was captured by the army of Bhaskar Pandit. R. D. Banerji on the authority of *Marathi Riyasat* writes that "Mir Habib went to invite the Marathas of Nagpur. Raghuji I was absent on a campaign in the Karnatak when Mir Habib went to Berar and sought Bhaskar Rai".⁴ In support of the account of *Riyaz* and *Marathi Riyasat*, we have Motte's Narrative quoted above which mentions that Raghuji entered Orissa at the instigation of Mir Habib.

(4) Jagannath temple and Pilgrim tax—

4. Bahadur Khan writes to the Sevakas of the Jagannath temple at Puri that they would do the worship of the god regularly. This request by Bahadur Khan may appear strange now, but the maintenance of the regular worship of the Jagannath at Puri had a financial aspect of the administration of Orissa in those days.

The following extract from Riyaz-us-Salatin clearly establish the importance of Jagannath temple to the then Government:—

"During the commotion of Mahammed Taqi Khan's time, the Raja of Parsutam (Purosottam) or Puri had removed Jagannath, the Hindu God from the limits of the Subah of Odisah (Orissa) and had it on the summit of a hill across the Chilka lake. In consequence of the removal of the idol, there was a falling off to the time of many lakhs of rupees in the imperial revenue accruing from pilgrims. Establishing friendly relations with Mir Habibulla Khan, and paying Nazar to the Nazim of the time. Rajah Daud (Ram Chandra) Deo brought back Jagannath, the Hindu God to Parsutam (Puri) and re-established the worship of Jagannath at Puri."⁵

¹ *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 91.

² *J. R. A. S. B.*, 1942, p. 53-59.

³ *Alivardi and his times*, p. 53-59.

⁴ *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 91.

⁵ *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p. 303.

Lest the Sevaks of the Jagannath temple would remove the idol of Jagannath out of fear of being attacked by the Marathas, Bahadur Khan informed them that there was no chance of attack of Orissa, that is the Jagannath of Orissa. It seems that Bahadur Khan was conscious about the loss of revenue under the head of pilgrim tax if the regular worship of Jagannath at Puri was disturbed.

I have not been able to get any information about the Bahadur Khan of this letter.

A DOCUMENT ON LEVY OF DUTY IN LIEU OF PENANCE

(By Khan Chowdhuri Amanatulla Ahmed)

Materials not only of political, but also of social and religious history of India are being collected through the efforts of the Indian Historical Records Commission. The King was the protector of religion in a Hindu as well as a Moslem State. Shastras ordain it. Social rules and religious customs were regulated by the King, though defects in the application were occasionally perceived.

There was "Dharmadanda" (penalty under precepts of religion) for Hindus and "Kazila Mahal" (department of Court of Kazi) for Moslems in Cooch Behar in the 18th Century. Smaller offences against society were dealt with there. The idea was noble; but misuse in their practical application sometimes resulted in extortion and miscarriage of justice. Dharmadanda Kari (duty) is realised in lieu of penance.

In the 12th Chapter of the *History of Cooch Behar* I wrote that under the order of the King, 'Kari' was realised for Dharmadanda. An original Bengali document was discovered in this connection, its English translation is given below:—

TRANSLATION

Seal—"Sri Sri Dhairjendra Narayan.

"By the order of Sri Sri Maharaja.

"It is hereby ordered that Durgaram Bairagi shall realise Dharmadanda Kari from the inhabitants of Girda Sitalkhuchi Godaikhora, Bhowirthana, Bhogdeberi, Kurshamari, Abaurpathar, Rangamati, Pinjarirjhar, Nalgram, Faluapur, Kaimari, and other taluks who do penance. Dharmadanda Kari, realised from the ryots of those taluks, shall be paid to Guru Chiranjib Chakravarti. Ordered in the presence of Sri Rupachandra Barakayastha Karji at Rajpur (Palace). Written by Devi Dutta Dass, 267 (Cooch Behar Raj Sac 1777 A.D.) 19th Kartic."

In this document Maharaja Dhairjendra Narayan authorised Durgaram Bairagi to give the Dharmadanda Kari, realised in lieu of penance from Hindu subjects of 11 taluks, to Guru Chiranjib Chakravarti. It is a matter for research if there was any such custom in any other part of India at the time, before and after. According to Hindu law, the King of the soil is entitled to realise Dharmadanda Kari, but it shall be thrown into water or given to a *Bramhachari* (vide *Prayaschitta Bick* by Shulapani).

MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE INDIAN PRINCES IN 1784

(By Mr. R. C. Mitra, M.A.)

Amidst the voluminous correspondence of Bussy preserved in the Archives of Pondicherry is found a "memoir on the actual condition of the Moghul Empire, the Indian princes, and the Marhattas"¹. This memoir running to 14 pages, forms an appendage to a letter written by Bussy on the 3rd March 1784 from Pondicherry to Marshal de Castries who was then the French Minister of Marine. The importance of the detailed estimate of military resources furnished by the memoir would have been greatly heightened if the estimate admitted of verification from other contemporary evidence. But pending such verification Bussy's credentials inspire confidence. He was a man of considerable experience in Indian affairs and his soberness of judgment had been tested on numerous occasions. Besides having scoffed at the French adventurers who sought to delude the French Government with exaggerated reports of the strength of the Indian princes in 1777 A.D.,² Bussy must have utilised his second sojourn in India in collecting reliable details on which the Government at home was to decide its plan of action. "Nothing will induce me to disguise the truth", and "I propose to study the military resources and interests of different princes on the same principle and rules on which such political study is conducted and founded in Europe" says Bussy, in his preamble. The assessment of the military strength of Indian princes from the point of their being amenable to English or French alliance at a moment when the French had already made their peace with the English cannot be understood unless we are to suppose that the French still cherished schemes of renewing their efforts against the English after 1784.

Bussy opens his memoir with a timely warning that "all that he writes is subject to revolutions more or less frequent and is not true except for the time being". "Ali Gour Shah Allam Emperor of Delhi or Padyshah, nearly 39 of age, lives in his capital round which only a small stretch of territory remains to him. Only 700 Cipayes and 900 horses form his guard". "Abdullah Kan his Vizir does not possess more than 500 soldiers. Mirza Chefy Kan nephew of Neadjef Kan has the title of the general of the Army of the Emperor of whom he is virtually independent. He resides in Agra and can assemble upto 20,000 men". "The army of the dead Sombre actually commanded by Marehand is composed of 4,000 men of whom nearly 80 are Europeans. Afrasiah Kan another general of the Emperor and equally independent resides at Hassy-essay, (Hansi-Hissar?) and can put forth 40,000 soldiers". "Mahmed bin Kan Hamdanny also general of the Empire and as independent as the two others possesses the territory of Horab and can raise nearly 30,000. Nadjef Kouli Kan possesses the territory of the Djattes (Jaths). His capital is at Sabitgar and he can hardly raise more than 8,000 men". "Imet Bahadur (Himmat) who has passed from the service of Sujah Doullah to that of Nadjef Khan seems to be entirely devoted to the English" but Bussy observes that the "English or the French are subjects of equal unconcern to them when their own schemes of fortune or ambition are satisfied". "The Sikhs forming a species of republic of which the constitution is little known recognise two principal chiefs, Djussa Singh and Tehar Shah Sing. The former occupy the territories between Multan and Delhi and is credited with an army of 100,000 while Tehar Shah Sing commands the region between Panipat and Lahore and is believed to have 60 to 80 thousand men". "Dje Sing, Savai-Je Raja of Jaipur has the best Siphis of Hindusthan and he has considerable riches.

¹ Folio attached to No. 423 of *Catalogue des Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde Française*, Vol. I.

² *Journal de Bussy*, (p. ii of the Preface).

"He is supposed to be able easily to maintain an army of 40,000". "Gourman Singh Raja of Jassimr possesses vast territories to the west of Azmir and can put forth 20,000 men. Beja Singh, Raja of Djaitpur and Merta, has territories between Azmir and Good (Gohad) and is an ally of the above two. He is surely able to raise an army of 30,000. The Raja of Azmir is master of an extensive territory between Jaipur and Jassimr; he can equip an army of 40,000. The Raja of Good (Gohad) vassal of the Marhattas hardly possessed 7,000 to 8,000 soldiers of which a large part has been lost in the siege of Gualier". "Fata Sing Raja of Brodar (Baroda) had been in danger of being deprived of all his power by way of punishment by the Poona Court for having supported the cause of the English but the Sindhia has procured him grace in consideration of a large sum of money. He can raise 29,000 men of whom 18,000 are cavalry forces". "Momen Khan, Persian origin, Nawab of Cambay, has nearly 1,900 soldiers but he can raise the number upto 8,000. Madogy Boncelo (Bhonsla) Raja of Kateck and Nagpur and Pana of Berar is independent of Poona Court and is believed to maintain an army of 80,000". Recounting his services as a mediator in the peace between the English and the Marathas, Bussy alludes to the English offer to place Madhoji on the Poona throne an offer which "Madhoji had the moderation or rather the sagacity to refuse". "Ragou Angria, Raja of Colaba, bound by ties of commerce with the English, possesses the coastal tracts between Chaoul and Bombay, and has 3,000 soldiers". "Boncela Maratta Raja of Vary has 5,000 to 6,000 soldiers with whom he is frequently fighting with the Portuguese whom he constantly defeats. The Raja of Sidily, of Abyssinian origin, ruler of the coast from Chaoul to Suncoota has an army of 4,000 and a squadron for supply. "The queen of Kolapoor is independent and has 10,000 men". "Harripant Pharkia, also known to the Marattas, as Tatia, is general of the army of the grand Marattas and the second member of the Regency. He is highly attached to Nana Fernis. He is not as candid or demonstrative as the Regent Nana. This has led some to believe that he favours the English though nothing is more contrary to truth. He has defeated Aider (Haider) several times and the latter did justice to his military talent. He commands the Poona army which at the present moment is no more than 20,000 horses". "Krishna Rao Balar Wauquil of the Marattas in the court of Nizam Ali is consulted on all affairs of whatever importance by the Marattas, and even by the Subadar of the Deccan in his own affairs". Bussy discountenances the rumour of his leanings towards the English because of the great confidence placed in him by Nana and Pharkia. "He has 2,000 to 3,000 men in the service of the Peshwa and 400 in the service of Nizam Ali". "Mahadagy Sadia, a Patel known throughout Hindusthan as Sindhia, is in constant liaison with the Council of Calcutta through Anderson. He has an army of 100,000 soldiers approximately, and 96 pieces of cannon". "Lachman Rao Rastia another member of the regency at Poona is the chief of 12,000 cavalry. Parissuram Bao commands 25,000 of whom 20,000 are horse men". "Tukodgy Holkar humiliated and ruined by the Peshwa does not possess now more than 8,000 but people believe him still capable of raising an army of 30,000 in case of war". Besides mention is made in this memoir of the respective resources of Apa Balavantrao related to Nana as having 4,000 men, Bassa Nitchouran as having 2,000 cavalry; Ganissi Panditbara as having 5,000 men, the brothers. Sarodgy and Malodgy, known as Raja Coreperas, as having 5,000 cavalry. "Bapu Pandchett Daroga or Chief of Artillery commands 2,500 men and 12,000 in times of war. He has in his Topkhanna or Arsenal 25 pieces of cannon fit for service. Dorap Maratta admiral at Vizindrouk has 1,500 sepahis 3,000 sailors and 42 vessels."

"It will not be far from truth to submit that the Marattas can in a period of 15 days set on foot an army of 250,000 of whom 120,000 are good horsemen, 1,500 sipahis armed and disciplined in European fashion; 500 Arabs and Abyssinians whose courage has been finally tested, and the rest is composed of

Pindaris and foot soldiers armed in native fashion".

"The revenue of the Marattas Sarkar once estimated in the neighbourhood of 10 crores has been greatly diminished due to troubles from Hyder Ali, the English, Sindhia and the troubles of the Regency. At present it will not rise above 3 crores not counting the Chauths which they have great pains in exacting".

In this fairly comprehensive survey of the resources of Indian rulers, one misses reference to Tipu Sultan and Nizam Ali obviously because the historic association of these princes with the French left the French minister in no necessity of further enlightenment about them.

PART—III

Proceedings of the Research and Publication Committee,

Proceedings of the Members' Meeting,

APPENDICES—A—I

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Tenth Meeting of the Research and Publication Committee held at New Delhi on the 8th March 1947 at 11 a.m.

The Secretary read the following message from Sir John Sargent, Chairman, Research & Publication Committee:—

“ I am sorry to say that I have a heavy cold and a sore throat which has rendered me nearly speechless, so I am staying in for a day or two. Consequently to my great regret, I shall not be able to attend the Research & Publication Committee this morning. Please make my apologies to the members and give them my greetings and best wishes ”.

The Secretary then requested the members to elect the Chairman. Thereupon Dewan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari was voted to the Chair.

1. Vote of condolence on the death of Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali.—

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali was the Keeper of Records of the Government of India and *ex-officio* Secretary of the Indian Historical Records Commission from 1923-38. On his retirement he was appointed as an Additional Member of the Commission which he served devotedly until the Indian Historical Records Commission was reconstituted in 1942.

The Chairman observed that Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdul Ali was associated with the Commission for a very long time. The following resolution was then moved from the Chair and passed unanimously, all members standing in silence.

Resolution I.—This Committee deeply mourns the death of Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdul Ali and authorises the Secretary to convey to the relatives a message of sympathy and condolence on behalf of the Commission.

2. Compilation at the Imperial Record Department complete data regarding organisational changes in the Administrative Departments of the Government of India.—

For this purpose (1) all the existing Departments of the Government of India may be asked to submit a report on the history of their growth and present organisation, and (2) they may be asked to keep the Imperial Record Department informed of all subsequent changes as and when introduced. (3) A list may be drawn up of all defunct Departments which were not taken over by any other agency, and their history recorded.

Note: (a) The above information is absolutely essential for the compilation of a complete administrative history of India. No such work exists to-day. (b) Besides being a useful addition to our stock of historical knowledge, this will serve as a guide to the arrangement of records in the Imperial Record Department now and in future.

The Secretary moved the proposal for consideration. The following resolution was passed *nem con*:—

Resolution II.—This Committee recommends that (1) the Government of India may kindly issue directives to all the existing Departments (Secretariat, Attached and Subordinate) under them to—

(a) submit to the Director of Archives within one year a report on the history of their growth and present organisation;

(b) keep the Imperial Record Department informed of all subsequent changes as and when introduced ;

(c) submit to the Director of Archives a list of all defunct departments whose functions they may have inherited at one time or another.

(2) that His Excellency the Crown Representative be also requested to issue similar directives to the Agencies under his control.

3. Compilation of complete information regarding records in the custody of all the Departments of the Government and their Attached and Subordinate offices which do not transfer their records to the Imperial Record Department.—

Note: At the 12th meeting of the Local Records Sub-Committee of the Indian Historical Records Commission (16th February 1946), it was recommended that a questionnaire be issued to all such Departments, etc., with a view to the eventual transfer of their records to the Imperial Record Department. The same questionnaire except questions 22 and 23, can be issued to those Departments in order to elicit all relevant information regarding their records. This proposal is a sort of corollary to the first proposal and will serve further the purpose mentioned in Note 1(a).

The Secretary read out the Questionnaire. He then explained that a number of Government of India Departments do not transfer their records to the Imperial Record Department while others, *e.g.*, the Political and Defence Departments have transferred them only up to a certain point. Not much is known about the records of such Departments, either as to their bulk or contents or state of preservation. It would, therefore, be desirable to elicit without delay complete information about such records, so that suitable steps for their proper conservation may be next considered.

The following resolution was adopted without any discussion:—

Resolution III.—This Committee recommends that the Questionnaire framed at the instance of the Local Records Sub-Committee (Twelfth Meeting) be circulated to all Government of India Departments and His Excellency the Crown Representative except question Nos. 22 and 23 with a request to furnish the Director of Archives with the information asked for within six months from the date of receipt.

4. Compilation of a National Register of (i) Archives and (ii) historical manuscripts.—

Note : Very little information is available regarding the bulk of the records and historical manuscripts that may be found in the various official or private repositories in this country. The records in the custody of organised records offices constitute only a small fraction of what may yet be unearthed elsewhere. These materials broadly fall under 2 categories:—

I. Documents accumulated in the course of organised business, social activity or family affairs by a natural process of growth.

II. Stray and isolated documents collected or acquired for their present owners without any reference to their archival value. The former again may be sub-divided into the following classes:—

(a) *Public* (e.g., records of Central, Provincial or State Governments, of Divisions, Districts, Sub-divisions, Circles, Treasuries, High Courts and other Courts).

(b) *Semi-public*.—Records of autonomous or semi-autonomous boards, Corporations and Municipalities, Trusts, Council, Association organised by or under the auspices of Central or Local Governments.

(c) *Institutional*.—Records of educational institutions, libraries, museums, learned societies, business corporations, banks, firms, religious establishments, temples, mosques, charitable organisations, labour unions and fraternal organisations.

(d) *Private*.—i.e., family papers (including private correspondence, memoranda, diaries, account books, etc.). While all these materials are important from the historian's point of view, it is the documents of the first category above that have the greatest evidential value, and that value they have in the highest degree when they have survived in undisturbed series in the custody of their original compilers or those compilers' direct representatives. But it is these records which are most exposed to the risk of destruction and dispersal. There are three reasons for this: (1) their value as evidences for history is not recognised to the same extent as that of non-archival documents like chronicles, or memoirs and similar compilations; (2) being accumulated primarily for business purposes they are liable, when these purposes have been served, to be considered of no importance, and though they may survive in spite of that, there comes a time when the space they occupy is grudged or their value as saleable waste is appreciated; (3) being not a mere collection of isolated documents but a body of related papers they may be ruined almost as effectively by dispersal as by destruction. Many of these risks may be eliminated by—

(1) the enactment of a public records legislation for the preservation of all records of national value on the lines of similar legislations in the progressive countries;

(2) the establishment of properly organised and staffed repositories to house the records which still require a suitable shelter, and education of the present custodians of the records in the principles and technique of scientific preservation of records;

(3) making provision for technical services (such as repair, rehabilitation, fumigation, cataloguing, indexing, microfilming, etc.) in such records repositories as may be unable to organise these services themselves;

(4) organisation of research facilities for approved students; and

(5) establishment of a system of control on the administration of these records by a Central Organisation.

All these measures, as a fact, have been included in the proposals for post-war reorganisation of archives offices in India, formulated by the Indian Historical Records Commission. But before these can be implemented, it is necessary that the Commission should have definitive data

regarding the nature and condition of the records available in India. To secure this the first requirement is a National Register of Archives and Historical Manuscripts that would give in brief outline a description of the records and manuscripts in the different repositories, private, institutional or public and semi-public. Such a Register should serve the following purposes:—

It should be (1) a directory for the information first of the Commission, and of the Central Controlling authority if and when such an authority is constituted; (2) a basis for detailed safeguarding measures; (3) an instrument for the guidance of students; (4) a basis for the detailed survey of the individual collections in the various repositories which may be taken up *after* the National Register has been completed. Another use of the Register will be that it will serve as an efficient instrument of tracing records or records collections hitherto found missing.

A vast scheme like this can be implemented only on a co-operative basis and it is suggested that the work of the compilation of information should be entrusted to the Regional Survey Committees. Each Committee should be responsible for the register of its respective region and may be authorised to appoint Sub-Committees for the different units included in their area. It is further suggested that the Regional Survey Committees should, for the time being, concentrate only on the compilation of the National Register, this being the basic work.

Information in respect of each repository should be entered in a form to be devised by the Research & Publication Committee. (A specimen form at Annexure I, page 133 may be examined in this connection). These forms when filled in should be consolidated at the office of the Survey Committee of the area and thence forwarded to the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, for further consolidations with similar information forms received from other regions. Copies of these Registers should of course be maintained in the form of a Register by the various Regional Committees themselves for reference and should be made available to accredited students. They should also be kept indexed up-to-date.

To make a thorough job of it, it would be necessary to get the whole-hearted co-operation not only of Provincial and State Governments, but of local bodies, learned associations, corporations, municipalities, business firms and private individuals. Much of course will depend on the efforts and initiative of voluntary field workers. It is necessary, however, that such workers should have some training in the technique of survey. It is, therefore, essential that a set of instructions should be compiled and printed for the guidance of the Committees as well as workers.

Besides supplying from time to time the information as detailed above, it is felt necessary that the Regional Survey Committees should submit to the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, brief summaries of their work on 31st August every year.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar supported the proposal and was of opinion that this was a very desirable move. Since the explanatory note was comprehensive enough he was of opinion that there was no need for further discussion. The following resolutions were passed:—

Resolution IV.—This Committee views with grave concern the extremely unsatisfactory state in which the bulk of the records and historical

manuscripts in India are lying, and the risks of destruction and dispersal to which they are exposed due mainly to the ignorance on the part of the public of their value as evidences for history and is firmly convinced that the major portion of these invaluable treasures will be lost to the nation unless adequate steps are immediately taken for their preservation. The Committee believes that many of these risks can be eliminated by (1) the enactment of a comprehensive public records legislation for the preservation of all records of national value ; (2) by the establishment of properly organised and staffed repositories all over the country to house records which still require a suitable shelter, and education of their present custodians and owners in the principles of archives keeping ; (3) making provision for technical services (such as repair, photographing, indexing cataloguing, etc.) in such repositories as may be unable to organise these services for themselves ; (4) organisation of research facilities at these repositories for approved students ; and (5) establishment of a system of control on the administration of these records by a suitable central organisation. The Committee further believes that as a preliminary step to the above it will be necessary to compile a register containing complete information regarding all records in India whether in public, semi-public, private or institutional custody. It therefore makes the following recommendations:—

(i) That the Secretary, Research & Publication Committee, be entrusted with the compilation of such a Register, to be called the National Register of records and historical manuscripts, with the help of the Regional Survey Committees in the provinces and the States ;

(ii) that the latter bodies be instructed to concentrate on the work of the compilation of the materials for the register to the exclusion of all other items of work they may have taken up or intend to take up in the near future ;

(iii) that information collected be entered in the proforma approved by this Committee (annexed hereto) a separate form being used for each collection, series, group or ' fonds ' of records or historical manuscripts surveyed, that the completed forms be forwarded to the Secretary, Research & Publication Committee for consolidation with similar forms received from elsewhere copies being retained by the Regional Committees in the form of a Register for a reference purpose, with up-to-date indexes, duplicates of which should be furnished to the Secretary of the Committee, and that the Registers whether at the Centre or in the provinces be made available to accredited scholars ;

(iv) that the provincial Governments and the States and through them the authorities of the Divisions, Districts, Sub-divisions, Circles and other administrative units, High Courts and other Courts, Corporations, Municipalities, District and Local Boards, Trusts, Councils and similar organisations set up by the provincial or State Governments or under their auspices, learned societies, Universities, educational institutions, religious establishments, libraries, museums and all public and semi-public institutions situated within the territorial limits of the provinces and the States, be asked to co-operate fully with the Regional Committees in compiling the Register by extending to them financial help and according them unrestricted facilities for inspection of the records under their control ;

(v) the Regional Survey Committees be further asked to exclude from their immediate programme the contents of the Organised Records Offices and concentrate on such records in semi-public, institutional and private custody and such public records as are yet to be organised;

(vi) that the provincial Governments and the States having organised record offices of their own be asked to furnish the requisite information in respect of their collections direct to the Secretary, Research and Publication Committee, in the approved form copies being sent to the Regional Survey Committees functioning in the provinces or the States as the case may be;

(vii) that the Government of India afford such financial and other facilities to the Secretary, Research & Publication Committee (in printing instruction sheets, relevant proformas, and any other matter) that may be considered to be necessary in connection with the compilation of the Register;

(viii) that to accord this scheme the widest possible publicity the resolution be published in the Gazette of India, that the Press Information Bureau be asked to issue a press note on the subject for publication in leading newspapers and periodicals and that All-India Radio be asked to arrange for a series of educational talks explaining the implications of the project. The Committee hereby authorises its Secretary to issue directives for the guidance of the Regional Survey Committees and to ask for annual reports of the work done in this connection.

5. Records in the Foreign Possessions in India.—

The old documents in the French and Portuguese Possessions in India are indispensable sources of Indian history. The Indian Historical Records Commission has on its personnel corresponding members from these places. The member from Pondichery has recently been taking a very keen interest in the activities of the Indian Historical Records Commission. The Research and Publication Committee may, however, very well be interested to know what arrangements have been made for the preservation of old records at those places as well as for making them available for *bonafide* research. Attention is invited to the note (Annexure 2, pages 134-35) by Sir (then Professor) Jadunath Sarkar on the Indo-Portuguese records which was considered by the Indian Historical Records Commission at its Third Meeting held at Bombay in January 1921. It is for consideration whether these foreign Governments should not now be requested to give facilities to accredited students from British India and Indian States to do research among their records. They may be further requested to co-operate with the Indian Historical Records Commission in enabling the latter to obtain copies of their records of interest to British India.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggested that in the present state of affairs in the country, these records should be made over to the Government of India on permanent loan, but without affecting their present ownership.

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri expressed the view that the Governments concerned would not agree to Dr. Majumdar's proposal as they had far reaching plans of historical research under their own auspices. He pointed out that some of the Pondichery records had already been published though not the Portuguese. It would be better if copies of these records were obtained with a view to publication like other schemes of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Secretary referred to the discussion he had with Dr. Monod Herzen who came to Indore from Pondichery. The attitude of the French Government in India seemed quite helpful. As regards records at Panjim. Secretary described his experience of 1921 when he found them left exposed and, consequently, badly damaged. Nothing he added, was known about their present conditions, and though 5 or 6 volumes of Portuguese records had since been published, they were badly printed and contained serious mistakes. But whatever their state of preservation or prospects of publication, it was doubtful that those foreign governments would like to part with their archives.

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad suggested that efforts should be made to obtain copies of those records with a view to their publication.

The following resolution was then passed:—

Resolution V.—This Committee recommends that the Portuguese and French Governments in India be requested to give facilities to accredited students from British India and Indian States to do research among their records. They may be further requested to cooperate with the Indian Historical Records Commission in enabling the latter to obtain copies of their records with a view to their publication.

5. Co-ordination of Research Work.—The Universities may be requested to supply the Imperial Record Department information annually regarding the research activities so far as they relate to the British Period of Indian history for publication in the "*Indian Archives*" in the following form:—

Name of the University.	Name of the research scholar.	Place of research.	Subject of research.	Progress made.	Sources consulted.	Thesis completed.	Remark.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Explanatory Note.—Co-ordination of research among original records and dissemination of relevant information about it have been the aim of the Indian Historical Records Commission for a long time past. To serve that purpose, the Universities may be requested to furnish the Imperial Record Department information in the form described above. This Department is now publishing a journal and the information thus secured can be made known to students and scholars alike through the medium of this journal. This will, moreover, remove the risk of two or more persons unwittingly spending their time and labour on the same subject and also enable students working on kindred subjects to establish contact.

Prof. D. N. Banerjee suggested that "work" should be substituted for "thesis" in column 7 of the form.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggested "publications if any" instead of column 7 as it already corresponds with column 5.

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad objected to Col. 6 as the Universities might not furnish the information at all owing to pressure of other work.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar proposed substitution of items in Col. 7, by "general nature of sources".

Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar objected to the use of the expression "British Period" in the text of the proposal.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggested "Modern Period of Indian History (17th century and later period)".

The amendments were accepted and the following resolution was passed.

Resolution VI.—This Committee recommends that the Government of India may forward the proposal in the amended form to all the Universities in India with a request to furnish the Imperial Record Department by 1st Sept., every year with the desired information for publication in the *Indian Archives*.

7. Proposal by Dr. N. K. Sinha.—

Resolved that free transcription of records in Government custody may be made for those who help Regional Survey Committees in their quest for historical records if the transcripts are wanted for local or family history and if the expense is not heavy.

Note.—Moulvi Azizur Rahman Khan of Berhampore is helping us much in our survey work in Murshidabad district. He has secured for us two very important documents and he helps us in reading Persian documents whenever we come across them. He has drawn a very full genealogical table of the family of Alivardi Khan. He wants some extracts from Imperial Records to complete his work. We cannot offer him any monetary recompense for the trouble he is taking for us. But we can help him in this self-imposed task.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar while moving the proposal in the absence of Dr. N. K. Sinha suggested that the words "at the discretion of the Director of Archives" in the text of the resolution should be substituted in place of "and if the expenses are not heavy".

Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar wanted to know who would decide whether the expenses were heavy or not.

Secretary explained that apart from the transcription charges, the search fees often amounted to considerable sums.

After some more discussion the following resolutions were passed.

Resolution VII.—This Committee recommends that the Director of Archives, Government of India, be authorised to give at his discretion transcribed copies of documents in the custody of the Government of India, free of charge, to those who help the Regional Survey Committees in their quest for historical records, if such transcripts are wanted for local or family history.

Resolution VIII.—This Committee further recommends that the provincial and States Governments be requested to give on the basis of the recommendations of the Regional Survey Committees in their areas, free transcripts of records in their custody to those who may help the Survey Committees in their quest for historical records, if such transcripts are wanted for local or family history.

8. Proposal by Mr. C. V. Joshi.—

The name "Regional Survey Committee" being ambiguous should be changed to "Historical Records Committee" preceded by the name

of the region to which the committee belongs ; e.g., Baroda State Historical Committee ; Bombay Provincial Historical Committee, etc.

Explanatory Note.—The phrase Regional Survey is somewhat wide of the mark as the word “survey” generally has a fixed connotation to the common mind. The name suggested by me is unambiguous and simple.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggested that though the proposal was good it would be difficult to bring about the change as the original name had already been impressed in the minds of people.

Mr. M. Nasir-ud-Din Khan suggested “Regional Records Survey Committee” as a suitable name and it was accepted.

Resolution IX.—This Committee recommends that the name of the “Regional Survey Committee” be changed to “Regional Records Survey Committee”.

9. Proposal by Mr. C. V. Joshi.—

The Regional Survey Committee for historical records should not be formed by taking provinces or States as units but should be formed separately for each cultural area. Thus in the Bombay Province, there should be separate committees for Cutch, Kathiawar, Gujrat, Konkan, Central Maharashtra and Karnatak ; in the Central Provinces, for Chattisgarh, Mahakosal, Gondvan and Vidarbha.

Explanatory Note.—The present political divisions were made irrespective of cultural or linguistic differences, which are important for a study of history. Where state areas are interspersed with British area, it would be inconvenient for a historical society to find that a certain place, adjacent but in another jurisdiction, is inaccessible to it for carrying on investigations. In small states, there are no scholars to do research work and co-operation between several jurisdictions may be found helpful, which is possible only if political separation of areas is disregarded.

Replying to a query by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Mr. C. V. Joshi stated that a member from Broach (40 miles from Baroda) was refused membership of the Baroda Committee because he was a British subject.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar said that the provincial Governments and Indian States had been requested to create permanent Committees of their own, but owing to war this could not be done. If, however, they were to do it now, the difficulties mentioned could be obviated.

Secretary explained that all the Committees in the provinces excepting one were working under the guidance of the Indian Historical Records Commission. The Commission he said, would not hesitate to request proper authorities if any difficulties stood in the way of the Survey work. Linguistic difficulties, Secretary suggested, could be easily overcome by appointing or co-opting workers from all parts of the area served by a Regional Survey Committee, which the latter was free to do. On the other hand, there was a serious practical difficulty in the way of forming linguistic or cultural divisions in disregard of the political divisions. The Regional Survey Committees were eventually meant to be appointed and sustained by provincial and State Governments. These governments could not and would not claim jurisdiction over neighbouring political divisions.

After some further discussion the proposal was withdrawn.

10. Proposal by Mr. R. K. Ranadive.—

At the Sixth Meeting of the Research and Publication Committee, the mover had suggested that complete sets of British Parliamentary Literature relating to India should be made available at suitable research centres for the use of research students and the Secretary of the Commission was pleased to state that after the cessation of hostilities, steps will be taken to round off the sets available at the Imperial Record Department and at the Headquarters of the major provinces. It is requested that the Secretary of the Commission may be pleased to state what steps have been taken in the matter and what the present position is.

Secretary's Note.—The Government of India have been moved again to take necessary steps on the subject about a month ago. As the Government of India have been already moved, it was agreed to await results.

11. Selection of Editor.—

Professor S. V. Puntambekar of Benares Hindu University was appointed an Honorary Editor by the Government of India in 1944 to edit one of the volumes under the Five-year Publication Programme. But owing to personal reasons he was unable to undertake the work and returned the manuscript material. With the approval of Sir John Sargent, Chairman, Research and Publication Committee, the manuscript material was given to Mr. J. D. Ward of the Punjab University. He also declined subsequently. It is therefore suggested that Dr. P. C. Gupta of Calcutta University, who is also a Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission and a scholar of repute, may be appointed an Honorary Editor to undertake the work.

Resolution X.—This Committee recommends that Dr. P. C. Gupta be appointed an Honorary Editor in place of Prof. S. V. Puntambekar to edit one of the volumes under the Five-year Publication Programme.

Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar then explained very briefly the important work carried out during the last five years and the invaluable help received from the members in general and from the Secretary, Dr. Sen and the Chairman, Research and Publication Committee, Sir John Sargent in particular. He then expressed on behalf of the Committee gratitude and appreciation for the help received from the Government of India and moved a vote of thanks to them, which was unanimously supported.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair, the meeting concluded.

The following members attended the meeting:—

1. Dewan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari.
2. Prof. S. N. Banerji.
3. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.
4. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.
5. Dr. K. K. Datta.
6. Prof. G. S. Das.
7. Prof. J. C. Taluqdar.
8. Prof. S. N. Dhar.
9. Prof. J. M. Ghosh.
10. Mr. C. V. Joshi.
11. Mr. S. M. Jaffar.
12. Mr. A. H. Nizami.
13. Prof. D. N. Banerjee.
14. Mr. M. Nasirud-Din Khan.

15. Dr. I. H. Qureshi.
16. Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
17. Mr. R. K. Ranadive.
18. Mm. D. V. Potdar.
19. Mr. D. P. Karmarkar.
20. Dr. S. N. Sen (Secretary).

ANNEXURE I.

FORM FOR NATIONAL REGISTER.

1. Location of the repository or the find spot.
2. Owner, with name, occupation (in the case of bodies, functions) and address.
3. Name of custodian, if any.
4. Description of the Collections (to be used for each collection in the repository).
 - (a) Class of documents (archival or non-archival).
 - (b) Agency of origin with indication as to the functions of the agency.
 - (c) Chronological limits.
 - (d) Whether any part of the collection has ever migrated elsewhere. If so, where?
 - (e) Nature of documents (correspondence, diaries, memoirs, minutes, memoranda, etc.).
 - (f) Subjects in broad outline (diplomatic, private, financial, business, trade, etc.).
 - (g) Relations to any known collection.
 - (h) Circumstances under which acquired (inheritance, purchase, etc.).
 - (i) Number—(figures in bundles, volumes, files, rolls, bastas, packings, etc.).
 - (j) Material (palmleaf, paper, etc., colour and nature of ink).
 - (k) Language.
 - (l) State of preservation.
 - (m) Indexes and Catalogues, if any.
 - (n) If any portion published.
5. (i) Whether the present owner is agreeable to part with his collection under certain conditions. (ii) Whether he is agreeable to submit his collection to Central control, if and when established, in exchange for technical service. (iii) Whether he is agreeable to grant research facilities to accredited students.

ANNEXURE 2.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEMBERS' THIRD MEETING.

• IV. The investigation on utilisation of the manuscript records of Portuguese India.—

The following note by Professor Jadunath Sarkar on the Indo-Portuguese records was considered by the Commission :—

The records of the "heroic age" of the Portuguese connection with India, viz., the first century of exploration and conquest, are already available in print. They consist of the annals of De Barros (covering 1497-1539), Couto (1526-1600), Gaspar Correa (1497-1550) and Castanheda (1497-1540), the commentaries and letters of Afonso D'Albuquerque.

que and a few stray publications. But the raw materials for the history of Portuguese India during the 17th and 18th centuries are, with one exception, all unpublished. These consist of royal orders from "Home", despatches from the Viceroy in India, official reports, journals of embassies, treaties, etc.

The archives of the General Secretariat, Goa, contain these documents bound in 192 volumes entitled *Livros das Moncoes*. Sixty-two other volumes of this work (covering the years 1605-1651 with a few stray documents reaching as far as 1699) were sent to Lisbon and are now preserved in the National Archives, Torre do Tombo. The contents of the first ten volumes and a part of the 11th volume of the latter covering the years 1605—February 1618 have been published by order of the Academy of Sciences, Lisbon, under the direction of Bulhao Pato, in 4 volumes, entitled *Documentos Remettidos da India* (Lisbon, 1880—1893). The records for the years 1618—1651 have been neither printed nor indexed.

Of the 192 volumes of the *Livros das Moncoes* preserved in India, a very brief alphabetical index compiled by Tovar E. Albuquerque in 1811 was printed by Dr. Ismael Gracias at Goa in 1918 under the title of *Index Alfabetico Chronologico e remissivo das Reaes ordens etc.* Some select documents from this collection have been printed in Goa in the *Boletim de Governo* (esp. 1873—76) and *Portugueses no Oriente* (4 vols.). The papers relating to the 16th and even the 17th century are comparatively few, and many of them refer to the internal arrangements of the Portuguese Government and the local affairs (esp. ecclesiastical) of the dependency. But the collection is very rich for the 18th century and throws new light on Haidar Ali, the Rajah of Satara, the Peshwa and the Mughal empire. The documents in Marathi and Persian preserved in Goa have been neither indexed nor even reported on.

It would be a mistake to undervalue the Portuguese records of the 18th century on the ground that the Portuguese were a decadent power in India after the 16th century. We should bear in mind that there was a revival of energy an expansion of territory in Portuguese India about 1720—1740, and that up to 1770 the Portuguese has much more intimate connection with the indigenous powers of the land, viz., the Adil Shah of Bijapur, the Mughal Emperor, the Maratha Rajahs of the House of Shivaji, the Savant of Vadi (called "Bounsulo" in the *Livros*), Haidar Ali and the Peshwas than the English had. The information on South Indian history that we can derive from Portuguese sources is necessary for supplementing our English Marathi and (decreasing) Persian records for the same period.

In view of the destructive influence of the climate of Malabar on paper and the political troubles through which Portugal has been passing of late it would be a distinct gain to Indian history if (a) the Marathi records in Goa are examined and where historically important copied, (b) the Persian records indexed, and (c) the more important papers in Portuguese selected from the *Index Alfabetico* calendared.

As regards (a), the work can be best done by giving a subsidy (say Rs. 600) to the Itihasa Mandala of Poona, which has a band of devoted workers and has already published a volume of private historical documents in Marathi collected in Goa territory.

As regards (c) I know a gentleman in Portuguese India who can calendar the Portuguese records.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ELEVENTH MEETING OF THE RESEARCH & PUBLICATION COMMITTEE, JAIPUR, 21ST FEBRUARY, 1948.

1. Review of action taken on some resolutions passed at Fifth (Udaipur), Seventh (Peshawar) and Eighth (New Delhi) Meetings of the Research and Publication Committee.

(Please see conspectus)

Dr. R. C. Majumdar drew attention to the remarks of the Government of Madras on Resolution X(ii) and (iii) of the Udaipur meeting of the Research & Publication Committee. He failed to understand why so much heat had been imported into it. The Government of India have to exercise their authority through their officers and here the Director of Archives *cum* Secretary was the appropriate officer. Other provincial Governments and States have not only not objected to this resolution but have in many cases welcomed such visits.

Diwan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari said that the Indian Historical Records Commission had always been non-interfering in its recommendations and he did not understand why unpleasant interference was apprehended.

The Chairman observed that in a matter of this kind it will not be wise to exclude any province but he did not think that any explanation from the Secretary was called for.

Resolution I.—Resolved that Diwan Bahadur C.S. Srinivasachari be requested to explain to the Madras Government the point of view of the Indian Historical Records Commission and settle the matter by personal discussion.

Dr. N. K. Sinha drew attention to the remarks of the Government of Bengal on Resolution III of the Eighth Meeting of the Committee and proposed that the Bengal Government might be moved to bring back their records from Berhampore to Calcutta for the research students could not possibly be afforded the same facilities at Berhampore as were available to them previously at Calcutta.

Mr. B. B. Chakrabartty explained why the retransfer had not been practicable so far. First there was lack of accommodation at Calcutta at present and secondly the partition of the province had caused some practical difficulties.

As it involved the question of partition of Bengal Government records, the Chairman suggested that this item should be discussed along with the resolution tabled by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

2. Review of work done in connexion with the Five-year Publication Programme—Indian Records Series and Records in Oriental Languages.

(i) Progress of work under the Five-year Publication Programme has not been, as will appear from the annexed chart, as satisfactory as might have been desired. Only a few volumes are ready for the press but even these cannot be published due to the difficulty of finding out a suitable press to undertake the work of printing. Negotiations for the printing of Thevenot and Careri's Travels have been going on for the last one year without success. It is presumed that our failure to bring out any of the earlier volumes of Court Letters is to a large extent hampering the work of the subsequent volumes. The Department is continuing its efforts to get these volumes published but their success will depend on many factors beyond its control.

INDIAN RECORDS SERIES—SCHEME I—Fort William—India House Correspondence

Year	Nature of Records	Volumes	Editors and/or Publishers	Remarks
I Year	Home Department 1748-72.	I (1748-56)	Dr. K. K. Datta . . .	Reports having completed his work.
		II (1757-59)	Dr. H. N. Sinha . . .	Volume ready for the press.
		III (1760-63).	Prof. D. N. Banerji . . .	Only a part of his work received.
		IV (1764-66).	Diwan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari.	Do.
		V (1767-69).	Dr. N. K. Sinha . . .	Volume ready for the press.
		VI (1770-72).	Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad . . .	Only introduction received.
II Year	Home Department 1773-88.	VII (1773-76).	Mr. R. P. Patwardhan . . .	No report received.
		VIII (1777-81).	Prof. Mohd. Habib . . .	Do.
		IX (1782-85).	Dr. B. A. Saletore . . .	Do.
		X (1786-88).	Dr. T. G. P. Spear . . .	Do.
III Year	Home Department. Home, Sep. Rev. Home, Sep. (Legislature) Secret, Select Committee.	XI (1789-92).	Dr. I. B. Banerjee . . .	Do.
		XII (1793-95).	Dr. S. N. Das Gupta . . .	Do.
		XIII (1796-1800).	Dr. P. C. Gupta . . .	Do.
		XIV (1752-81).	Prof. J. C. Taluqdar . . .	Do.

Year	Nature of Records	Volumes	Editors and/or Publishers	Remarks
IV Year	Foreign, Secret.	XV (1782-86).	Dr. A. G. Pawar . .	No report received.
	Secret & Sep.	XVI (1787-91).	Khan Sahib S. H. Askari	Do.
	Sec., For. & Pol.	XVII (1792-95)	Mr. Y. J. Taraporewala	Only the introduction received.
	Do.	XVIII (1796-1800).	Rev. Father B. Heras	No report received.
V Year	Military Department. 1787-1800.	XIX (1787-92).	Brig. H. Bullock .	Material handed over.
		XX (1792-95).	Dr. A. C. Banerjes .	Material not delivered yet.
		XXI (1796-1800).	Prof. S. R. Kohli .	Do.

INDIAN RECORDS SERIES—SCHEME II—Selections from English Records

Year	Nature of Records	Volumes	Editors and/or Publishers	Remarks
I Year	Browne's Correspondence.	I	Director of Archives, Government of India.	Efforts to get the missing pages from the India Office continuing.
II Year	Sir John Shore's Minutes.	I	Do. .	Progressing.
III Year	Do. do. .	II	Do. .	Do.
IV Year	Do. do. .	III	Do. .	Do.
V Year	Thevenot & Careri's Travels	I	Do. .	Negotiation with the press going on.

RECORDS IN ORIENTAL LANGUAGES—SCHEME III (A)

I Year	Bengali (1770-1820) .	I	Calcutta University .	A volume entitled "Prachin Bangla Patra Sankalan" has already been published.
	Marathi (1779-1803) .	I	Bharata Itihasa Sam-sodhaka Mandal, Poona.	....
	Persian Akhbars (1773-1803).	I	Delhi University .	....
II Year	Hindi (1793-1820) .	I	Allahabad University	Transcripts handed over.
III Year	Do.	II	Kotah Darbar .	Editing in progress.
	Sanskrit (1772-1857) .	I	Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Banaras.	In the press.
	Tamil (1824-64)	I	Annamalai University.	....
IV & V Year	Kannada (1791-1865)	I	Dr. B. A. Saletore .	Dr. Saletore proposes to move the Bombay University to publish the volume.

SELECTIONS FROM ENGLISH RECORDS—SCHEME III (B)

Year	Nature of Records	Volumes	Editors and/or Publishers	Remarks
	Selections from Ormo Manuscripts.	I	Annamalai University.	Work progressing.
	Cornwallis Correspondence on Sindhia's Affairs (1786-93).	I	....	The Gwalior Darbar have declined in view of their opinion that the papers would not add much to the existing knowledge.
	Punjab Akhbar (1839-41).	I	Sikh History Society, Amritsar.	Work progressing.
	News Letters (1839-42).	..	....	Negotiation with the Punjab University was proceeding when the partition intervened.
	Elphinstone Correspondence Nagpur Period (1839-42).	..	Nagpur University	Agreed to edit the volume.
	Ochterlony Papers on Delhi and Central India (1818-25).	..	....	Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad's list of documents is not ready yet.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar opined that in order to implement the five year programme without any further delay the volumes now ready should be printed at some suitable private press. The Archaeological Survey was also experiencing similar difficulties and the Central Advisory Board at its Madras Session recommended that negotiation should now be opened with private presses competent and willing to undertake the work.

The Chairman said that although he was personally in favour of private enterprise, he was of opinion that in such cultural undertakings the Department should have its own publication arrangements. He cited the example of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, where all the scientific publications would be printed by a specially equipped press to be started soon. Before similar printing facilities were available to the National Archives printing work would have to be entrusted to private presses and a resolution to that effect might be passed.

Resolution II.—This Committee recommends that the Government of India make suitable provision for special types of printing and take such prompt measures as are required in connection with the Five-year Publication Programme of the National Archives of India. Meanwhile the Secretary may be authorised to get the completed works printed through some private presses.

(ii) **Appointment of Editor.**—The Commission suggested at its Indore Session that Dr. Yusuf Hussain Khan of Hyderabad-Deccan should be appointed to edit Vol. XX but as there was some technical difficulties about the appointment, the Secretary suggested the name of Dr. A. C. Banerji of Calcutta in Dr. Yusuf Hussain Khan's place in anticipation of the Commission's approval to avoid further delay.

The Committee approved the action taken and the following resolution was passed :—

Resolution III.—This Committee approves the appointment of Dr. A. C. Banerjee as an Honorary Editor under the Five-Year Publication Programme.

3. Review of financial grant to the Survey Committees.

The Government of India made a grant amounting to Rs. 6,500 during 1946-47 to meet contingent expenses of the *ad hoc* Survey Committees. As the grant was limited, the item of expenditure had to be reduced to minimum viz., transcription, stamp, stationery, etc. Distribution of the grant and expenditure incurred has been explained below :—

Regional Committees	Amount sanctioned	Amount spent	Amount spent in excess	Unspent balance surrendered to the Government	Remarks
1. Madras . .	780	780	..	..	....
2. Bombay & Sind . .	790	950	160	..	Committee agreed not to claim amount mentioned in Column IV.
	..				
3. Bengal & Assam . .	750	750 0 3	0 0 3	..	Do.
4. United Provinces . .	720	720	..	..	....
5. Central Provinces & Berar.	790	390	..	400	....
6. Bihar . .	750	790	40	..	Committee agreed not to claim amount mentioned in Column IV.
7. N.-W.F.P. . .	780	780	..	..
8. Orissa and Eastern States Agency.	715	123	..	592	....
9. Delhi . .	419	419	..	..	....
	6,500	5,700 0 3	200 0 3	992	

Dr. R. C. Majumdar complained that the financial grants from the Government of India to the Regional Survey Committees were usually made so late in the year that it was impossible to make the best use of the money within the specified time limit. This year for instance the money was received late in February and the Survey Committees had either to spend the sum in a hurry or permit it to lapse. He suggested that the Committees should be empowered to carry forward the unspent balance without detriment to the interest of the next year's grant.

The Chairman cited the case of Council of Scientific and Industrial Research Institute where unspent balance of the Government grants

were re-allotted to them for the next year and was confident that similar facilities would be accorded by the Government of India to the Survey Committees also.

The Secretary explained that in view of the recent political and constitutional changes in the country the sanction of the Government of India was received rather late, though he on his part had sent several reminders to the authorities concerned.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar proposed that the present Government grant should be substantially enhanced to enable the Survey Committees to function properly.

The Chairman suggested that there must be a definite long term programme of work to convince the Government of India of the need of an enhanced grant.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar proposed that all the Regional Survey Committees be requested to submit a five-year plan of work to be considered by a Sub-Committee consisting of the five expert members nominated by the Government of India.

The question of appointment of a fresh Sub-Committee was discussed at length and it was agreed that the proposed Sub-Committee should meet at Delhi during the next meeting of the Research & Publication Committee.

The following resolution was then passed :—

Resolution IV.—This Committee recommends that all the Regional Survey Committees be requested to submit a five-year programme of work with estimates of probable expenditure not later than the end of May 1948 before the Sub-Committee consisting of the five expert members nominated by the Government of India for co-ordination and recommendation to the Research & Publication Committee.

At this stage Sir S. S. Bhatnagar left the meeting in view of an urgent business and Diwan Bahadur C.S. Srinivasachari was voted to the Chair.

4. Submission of accounts of the expenditure incurred.

One of the conditions of the Government of India grant is that future grants are to be made to the Committees on submission of satisfactory accounts of expenditure incurred. Accounts submitted by some of the Committees do not appear to be in regular form. Some submitted monthly statements, some quarterly and others only an abstract. These lead to administrative inconvenience resulting in further confusion and delay. It is therefore suggested that the conveners should submit half-yearly accounts to the Secretary duly filled in a " form " to be supplied to them.

Resolution V.—It is agreed that the Regional Survey Committees should submit half-yearly accounts to the Secretary of the Commission duly filled in a ' form ' to be supplied to them.

5. Publicity through Radio and Press.

In view of the disturbances in the country the programme of publicity through radio and press could not be undertaken in the current year. In addition to what was reported in the proceedings of the last

year, five more talks were broadcast from the various centres of the All-India Radio, under a general heading "The Raw Materials of Indian History". The names of the speakers and the subjects of their talks are noted below :—

Name of speaker	Subject	Station	Language.
1. Sir Maurice Gwyer (Delhi).	Preservation of historical manuscripts.	Delhi .	English.
2. Dewan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari (Madras).	Historical records—objects of the Indian Historical Records Commission.	Madras .	Tamil.
3. Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar (Bombay and Sind).	What should we do with our historical records.	Bombay .	English.
4. Dr. R. C. Majumdar (Bengal and Assam).	Manuscripts material in Bengal and Assam.	Calcutta .	English.
5. Dr. Tara Chand (U.P.).	Historical documents in United Provinces.	Lucknow .	English.
6. Dr. K.K. Dutta (Bihar).	Rescue of historical documents in Bihar.	Calcutta .	English.
7. Dr. Y.K. Deshpande (C. P. and Berar).	Unearthing historical documents in C.P.	Bombay .	English.
8. Prof. G. S. Das (Orissa and E.S.A.).	Records hunting in Orissa . .	Calcutta .	Oriya.
9. Prof. G. M. Tabassum (Punjab).	Our cultural treasure . .	Lahore .	Hindustani
10. Mr. S. M. Jaffar (N.W.F.P.).	Manuscripts in N.W.F.P. . .	Peshawar .	Urdu.

As regards publicity through press no suitable material has been received from any committee except that of Madras, Jodhpur and Bengal. It is however hoped that now that normal conditions have been restored the Committees in the provinces and the States will avail of the facilities offered by the Government of India.

The members appreciated the publicity arrangements made by the Government of India and the following decision was taken :

The Secretary should approach the Radio and Press authorities of the Government of India to extend similar facilities to the Regional Survey Committees as in the past.

6. Annual Report.

All the annual reports received from the various Committees in the provinces and States have been reproduced in the Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings Vol. XXIII. This year reports have been received from the Committees in Central Provinces and Berar, United Provinces, Bihar, Jodhpur, Baroda and Kalahandi. These are laid on the table.

Noted.

Proposals by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

7. Reconstitution of Bengal Regional Committee.

That the relation of the present Regional Survey Committee of Bengal with the areas included in Eastern Pakistan be clearly defined

and its membership and scope of activity be changed accordingly, if necessary.

Secretary's Note.—In view of the partition of Bengal, it was considered necessary to reorganise the Regional Committee for Bengal and Assam. With the approval of the Chairman of the Research and Publication Committee, the Convener was requested to set up a new Committee for West Bengal.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar explaining the proposal suggested that the Regional Survey Committee for Bengal and Assam be reconstituted and that its scope of activities should not be expanded beyond the limits of the Indian Dominion. The membership of the Committee should be confined to persons generally residing in the Dominion of India. He further proposed that since the Government of Assam had not yet constituted a Committee for the province, Assam should continue to be within the territorial jurisdiction of the Committee for West Bengal pending the appointment of such a Committee by the Government of Assam.

Dr. N. K. Sinha suggested that the scope of the Regional Survey Committees should not as a matter of principle be limited to a particular region.

The Secretary explained that the private persons were at liberty to conduct research work outside their jurisdiction but felt that the scope of activities of the Survey Committees should not on principle be extended beyond respective jurisdictions of the State to which they belonged except by mutual agreement.

The following resolutions were then passed :—

Resolution VI.—This Committee recommends that the membership and scope of activities of the West Bengal Regional Survey Committee be restricted to that part of Bengal which is within the Dominion of India.

Resolution VII.—The Government of Assam be requested to set up a Regional Survey Committee, pending which the Committee for West Bengal may continue to function for Assam also.

8. Partition of Bengal Government Records.

That a directive be given to the Government of Bengal by the Government of the Indian Union that the local Regional Survey Committee be consulted before any decision is arrived at regarding distribution of the local official records between Western Bengal and Eastern Pakistan.

Secretary's Note.—It is suggested that in dealing with the question of partition of records the principles established by international usage and practice should be confirmed to.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar explained that he wrote several letters to the Partition Council of Bengal requesting them to follow the international practice in dealing with the question of partitioning records, and suggested that before any decision was arrived at the Regional Survey Committee for Bengal and Assam should be consulted, but did not receive any reply from them.

Mr. B. B. Chakrabartty replied that originally it was decided to partition the Bengal Government records between West Bengal and Eastern Pakistan on 50 : 50 basis. Since then he had pointed out that as the records of the Judicial and Revenue Departments really belonged to the Government of India no partition of these records could be undertaken without the consent of the Central Government.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar intervening said that since the question of division of records had already been discussed but no final action had so far been taken there was all the more necessity of pressing his resolution.

Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar proposed that so far as the records of Bengal and Punjab were concerned, these should not go to the seceding areas. They could, according to international practice, get only the microfilm copies of the records.

The Secretary explained that it was not practicable to divide records on fifty fifty basis without breaking the integrity of an individual series and this would necessarily affect their historical value and administrative utility. He did not mind whether the original records of a particular series went to Eastern Pakistan or remained in West Bengal but what he was actually concerned with was that the integrity of the series of records should remain intact, and adequate research facilities should be accorded to the scholars by both the Dominions.

After a lengthy and lively discussion on the merits and demerits of the partition of records and the international practices on the subject the following resolutions were passed :

Resolution VIII.—This Committee recommends to the Government of India that it is not in the interest of historical research to divide important series of records between two States in consequence of the partition. In any case, care should be taken that the integrity of the series remains intact. Should one of the Dominions stand in need of any records in the custody of the other, microfilm copies of the original should be supplied and all facilities should be given to bonafide scholars from either Dominion.

Resolution IX.—This Committee also recommends that a directive be given to the Government of West Bengal by the Government of Indian Union that the local Regional Survey Committee be consulted before any decision is arrived at regarding division of the local official records between West Bengal and Eastern Pakistan.

9. Compilation of sources for the preparation of a History of National struggle.

That an attempt be made to compile a list of important records, both published and unpublished, bearing upon the national struggle for freedom.

Explanatory Note.—In view of the recent constitutional changes, it is now the bounden duty of India to prepare as complete a history as possible of the great National Struggle for freedom since the beginning of the 19th century. Many of the records bearing on this subject may be found scattered about in the provincial archives though some might have been printed in official publications, or the various articles published in different journals. It would be an inestimable advantage for the

future historian of India if an attempt be made *now*, before it is too late, to prepare as complete a list as possible of the various records under this head, because many of these are likely to disappear in course of time. I therefore propose that first of all it should be approved in principle and then each Regional Committee shall be requested to make a definite search for the records which may be one of the following types: (a) Confidential report of the Government officials; (b) Judicial proceedings; (c) Local newspaper reports; (d) Proscribed books and leaflets; (e) Letters, memoirs etc., of leading members.

Secretary's Note.—The working of the scheme and the expenditure involved in the work may be examined by the members to enable the Government of India to consider the question in all its aspects.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar said that India has attained here independence but the history of the national struggle that culminated in independence has yet to be written. Unless the materials for such a history are now collected some of them are likely to be lost for ever. He did not like to put a chronological limit to the subject that might be done later but some of the prominent leaders of the independence movement whether violent or non-violent were still in the land of living and their correspondence and other relevant papers could yet be saved. This will demand organised effort on the part of the Indian scholars and the Government of the country. The foremost leader of the movement, Dr. Majumdar observed, was Mahatma Gandhi and it was essential that all his papers should be placed in the custody of the National Archives as has been done in the U.S.A. with respect to Lincoln and Roosevelt Papers. The National Archives of Washington has already stolen a march over India. It has already acquired photographic copies of Mahatmaji's writings and a record of his voice. He was aware of the proposal to organise a Memorial Museum. Other belongings of Mahatmaji might go to that Museum but his writings and other papers which form an important source of the history of our national struggle must come to the National Archives. Apart from other reasons the papers are likely to be better looked after in the National Archives than elsewhere.

The Secretary pointed out the necessity of specifying the extent of financial assistance that the enterprise would require so that the Government of India might consider the resolution in all its aspects.

A lively discussion on the subject followed and following resolutions were passed :—

Resolution X.—This Committee recommends that an attempt be made to compile a list of important records, both published and unpublished, bearing upon the national struggle for freedom.

Resolution XI.—That the Government of India be moved to make an initial grant of Rs. 25,000 to be distributed among the Regional Survey Committees for collection of materials relating to the proposed compilation of an authoritative history of Indian national struggle.

Resolution XII.—That the Government of India and the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Committee be requested to transfer all the original writings of Mahatma Gandhi and records relating to him to the custody of the National Archives of India for preservation.

10. Throwing open of records.

That confidential records, Central and provincial of the military and civil, be thrown open to bonafide students of Indian history under such conditions as may be prescribed by the Commission.

Explanatory Note.—In view of the achievement of independence by India, there is no need at present to regard any old public document as confidential, and from the point of view of history, the sooner these records are carefully studied, the better, as many of them might be lost in course of time.

The following amended resolution was passed :

Resolution XIII.—That pre-1902 confidential records, Central and provincial, both military and civil, be thrown open to bonafide students of Indian history under such conditions as the respective Governments may consider necessary.

11. Annual Reports of Survey work.

That a short account of the important activities of each Regional Survey Committee be published in the form of Annual Reports, so that the important documents brought by them to light might be available to all students of history and an impetus be given to the local public for helping the Regional Committee to discover more such documents.

Explanatory Note.—The short Annual Report published by Bengal Regional Survey Committee has already elicited encouraging response and it appears that nothing else could give the lay public a more accurate idea both of the activities of the Committee as well as of their great importance and interest from the point of view of history. Besides, by the proposed step, we will conserve some important documents which are not likely to be published elsewhere, at least within a reasonable period of time. Many families would be tempted to offer documents to the Committee in the hope of seeing their names in print at an early date and this is of no small significance.

Secretary's Note.—See Resolution VI of the Third Meeting of the Research and Publication Committee (I. H. R. C. Proceedings Vol. XX, part III, page 82). It was recommended that brief Annual Reports should be published in the Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings volumes. The Government of India accepted the suggestion. But printing of elaborate reports as proposed might prove expensive and such a venture cannot perhaps be made with the limited resources now available without detriment to the cause of salvage and safe keeping of documents procured.

The following resolution was passed :—

Resolution XIV.—This Committee recommends that a short account of the important activities of each Regional Survey Committee be published in the form of annual reports, so that the important documents brought to light by them might be available to all students of history and an impetus be given to the local public for helping the Regional Committees to discover more such documents.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Dr. R. C. Majumdar moved a vote of thanks to Sir S. S. Bhatnagar and Dewan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari

for conducting the deliberations of the meeting, which was seconded by Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar and carried unanimously by acclamations.

12. List of papers laid on the table.

Annual Reports of :—

- (i) United Provinces Regional Survey Committee.
- (ii) Bihar Regional Survey Committee.
- (iii) Central Province and Berar Regional Survey Committee.
- (iv) Baroda Regional Survey Committee.
- (v) Jodhpur Regional Survey Committee.
- (vi) Kalahandi Regional Survey Committee.

CONSPETUS OF ACTION TAKEN—RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

Fifth Meeting, Udaipur, 1944.

Resolution X (i), (ii) and (iii)—This Committee recommends that the Secretary should be authorised (i) to give necessary publicity to the answers already received, (ii) to work as the agent of the Commission in a general way and to persuade the provinces and States to take such steps as may improve the prevailing archives arrangement if it is not quite up to date, and (iii) to report to the Commission such fresh action as the provinces and States may take from time to time.

1. The *Government of North-West Frontier Province* inform that so far as the second part of the resolution is concerned, the provincial Government will welcome the advice of the Secretary of the Indian Historical Records Commission in archives administration. As regards the third part of it, they have no objection.

2. The *Government of United Provinces* inform that the provincial Government have no comments to offer on Part II of the resolution. They have however no objection to the proposal regarding submission of inspection reports by the Secretary of the Commission to the Indian Historical Records Commission.

3. The *Government of Assam* inform that they have no comments to make on the resolution.

4. The *Government of Orissa* state that the provincial Government have no Records Office. They have however no objection to the resolution, which purports to define clearly the function of the Secretary in the matter of taking steps to improve the existing archives arrangements in the provinces and States, and to place the Inspection Report of the Secretary before the Indian Historical Records Commission.

5. The *Chief Commissioner, Delhi*, informs that the Registrar, Delhi University, and the Superintendent of Education, Delhi, were consulted. The former reports that the University has a few historical manuscripts and documents which are properly catalogued and open to inspection by bonafide research students. The administration has no objection to Inspection Report being submitted to the Indian Historical Records Commission. The Administration agrees to co-operate with the Secretary in the subject matter of the resolution.

6. The *Government of Bundi* have no objection to the Secretary of the Indian Historical Records Commission being authorised to act as recommended in the resolution.

7. The *Pudukkottai Darbar* inform that they will be glad to have the advice of the Secretary of the Indian Historical Records Commission *cum* Director of Archives of the Government of India in the matter of improving the arrangement of the State archives.

8. The *Travancore Government* inform that they would be glad to welcome any advice from the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, regarding the improvement of archives and to co-operate with the Secretary in his work.

9. The *Cochin State* inform that the suggestion contained in the resolution is approved by the State Government.

10. The *Government of Madras* state that they are not in agreement with the recommendations contained in the resolution. The resolution seeks to invest the Secretary of the Commission with a role which should only be exercised by the Government of India. The powers which it is proposed to vest in the Secretary of the Commission are so general and comprehensive in nature that in exercising them he is likely to come into perpetual conflict with the provincial and State archivists. It is therefore suggested that the existing procedure under which the Central Government commends to the provincial Governments and others the suggestions of the Indian Historical Records Commission for consideration will suffice and may continue. It is always open to the nominees of the provincial Governments and States who are members of the Commission to bring to the notice of their respective Governments and States the defects, if any, which exist in their archives and make suggestions for their improvement.

So far as the province of Madras is concerned there is no scope for the advice or interference of the Commission, as the Madras Record Office has been organised on up-to-date lines and placed under the care of a Curator who has received a training abroad in the technique of archive preservation. The Madras Record Office has always been a member of the British Records Association and receives regularly all literature on archivism issued by that association. It likewise receives the administration reports and other technical literature issued by the National Archives, U.S.A. Thus it is constantly in touch with all the latest methods of archive administration.

Remarks.—The resolution does not aim at investing the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, with any new powers but merely places him under an obligation to make periodical visit to archives offices in such provinces and States as would agree to invite him to inspect the records. The object of the resolution is merely to enable the Commission to have first hand knowledge about the condition of all the record rooms in India and to raise the general standard of archives-keeping in consultation with the custodians of records. The recommendations of the Commission are not mandatory and if the Madras Government do not co-operate with the scheme, their Records Office may be excluded from the programme.

11. The *Government of Punjab* (late) informed that they have no objection to the proposal contained in the resolution.

12. The *Agent to the Governor-General, Resident and the Chief Commissioner in Baluchistan* informs that the Administration has no objection to the proposal.

13. The *Jodhpur Government* inform that there is no objection if the Secretary of the Indian Historical Records Commission, as an agent of the Commission, makes his suggestions to the Jodhpur Government for improving the prevailing archives arrangement. They will put them into force as far as practicable.

14. The *Government of Central Provinces and Berar* inform that they have no objection to the proposal.

15. The *Government of Bihar* inform that they have no objection to the proposal.

16. The *Chief Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara*, informs that he has no objection to the proposal.

17. *Government of Mayurbhanj* inform that they have no objection to Secretary's working as the agent of the Commission but there is practically nothing to be done in this state as the State Record Room here only contains recent records which are kept in an up-to-date manner.

18. *Government of Bikaner* agree with the recommendations and that they have no objection to the course outlined therein.

19. *Rampur Darbar* inform that so far as the collection of manuscripts and printed books in the State Library is concerned, the arrangement of every section is quite up-to-date and no further action, as suggested in the resolution, is called for.

20. *Government of Patiala* are in general agreement with the intent and purpose of the resolution. It is, however, considered that it should be left to His Highness' Government to decide when and how to effect improvement in the existing archives arrangement in order that it might be made up-to-date. Should any necessity arise, His Highness' Government would gladly seek your advice and aid in this matter.

Seventh Meeting, Peshawar, 1945.

Resolution II.—This Committee recommends to the Government of India to use paper of the best quality procurable for the publications planned by the Committee and to make paper of the same quality available to other institutions undertaking the same work.

The *Government of India* have issued instructions to the Government of United Provinces and Hon'ble the Resident for Rajputana to assist Ganga Nath Jha Memorial Institute, Allahabad University and Kotah Darbar who are at present engaged in editing and publishing Sanskrit and Hindi records under the Five-year Publication Programme of the National Archives of India, in the procurement of required quality of paper.

Resolution III.—Resolved that the following persons be appointed to edit the next four volumes of the East India House Correspondence :

1. Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Bombay.
2. Mr. Y. J. Taraporewala, M.A., Muzaffarpur.
3. Khan Sahib S. H. Askari, M.A., B.L., Patna.
4. Dr. A. G. Pawar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, Kolhapur.

The *Bombay Government* inform that Rev. Father H. Heras has been formally invited to undertake the editing work under the Five-year Publication Programme of the National Archives of India.

The University of Bombay has however expressed inability to incur any expenses on his travelling and other incidentals.

Eighth Meeting, New Delhi, 1946.

Resolution III.—Resolved that now that normal conditions have been restored, the provincial Governments be requested to grant all reasonable facilities to bonafide research scholars for their work among official records in provincial custody.

1. The *Government of Bengal* (late) informed that all reasonable facilities are extended to bonafide research scholars for work among the records in the custody of the provincial Government.

2. The *Government of Punjab* (late) informed that the provincial Government have always followed a very liberal policy in respect of granting reasonable facilities to bonafide research scholars to do research work among official records in its custody. The rules of the Punjab Historical Record Office governing access of bonafide research scholars to official records were in fact designed to this end.

Resolution IV.—This Committee recommends that the Regional Survey Committee be directed to encourage the examination of old historical records, whether in private or official custody and the local Governments be requested to give all facilities to the Committee to fulfil this duty.

1. The *Government of United Provinces* inform that they have already issued necessary instructions to all Commissioners of Divisions regarding facilities to be given to the members of the Regional Survey Committee, United Provinces, for examining old records in their offices. Instructions are being issued for those members to be given similar facilities in respect of the records in the old Record Room in the office of the Board of Revenue, United Provinces, and District Officers are being instructed likewise in respect of old records in their offices. District Officers are also being asked to give such assistance as is possible in obtaining access to historical records in possession of old and influential families.

Resolution V.—This Committee recommends that the Regional Survey Committees in the provinces and States be given facilities to carry on their work in and to have easy access to the adjoining places and to take impressions, photos, etc., wherever necessary. The members of the Survey Committees be given facilities to utilise Dak Bungalows and to secure provisions and transport at reasonable costs.

1. The *Government of Punjab* (late) informed that the (late) Punjab Regional Committee was already granted travelling facilities including the use of Dak Bungalows for carrying on their work and that in case they found it necessary to take impressions and photos of historical objects the Government would afford the necessary facilities.

2. The *Government of Bombay* inform that the members of the provincial Regional Survey Committee have been permitted to use the District and other Government Bungalows in the course of their survey works, provided they are vacant and are not already reserved for other officers.

Resolution VI.—Resolved that the Government of India be requested to ask the provincial Governments and Indian States to set up permanent Regional Survey Committees in view of the altered position consequent on the cessation of hostilities.

1. The *Government of Central Provinces and Berar* inform that they accept the recommendation of the Research and Publication Committee for the setting up of a permanent Regional Survey Committee by the provincial Government.

2. The *Tripura Government* state that they have no objection to the proposal for setting up of a Regional Survey Committee by them and steps are being taken to form such a body.

3. The *Government of United Provinces* inform that they have no objection to the setting up of a permanent Regional Survey Committee in the province. They however presume that the provincial Government will not be required to give any financial assistance to the Committee.

Remarks.—The Government of United Provinces was informed by the Government of India that the Regional Survey Committees appointed by the provincial Governments would naturally be given financial help by them.

4. The *Jodhpur Government* have appointed a permanent Regional Survey Committee for the State by 1945. (The names of the members of the Committee appeared in the Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings Vol. XXIII).

5. The *Jaipur Government* inform that it will be a function of the University of Rajputana to conduct and co-ordinate research in regional history and the University will also be in a position to make suggestions to the Governments of Rajputana States within the University regarding a census of records and their acquisitions. The University authorities have therefore been asked to take up this question.

PROCEEDING OF THE MEETING OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION, TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION, MEMBERS' MEETING, JAIPUR, 22ND FEBRUARY 1948.

1. **Vote of condolence on the death of Sir Shaafat Ahmad Khan and Dr. M. H. Krishna.**

Dr. Sir Shaafat Ahmad Khan was an Ordinary Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission from 1937 to 1940 when the Commission was re-constituted. He was subsequently appointed India's High Commissioner in South Africa and in September 1946 became the first Education Member of the Interim Government of India and the *ex-officio* President of the Indian Historical Records Commission. During the tenure of his office as an Ordinary Member of the Commission Sir Shaafat rendered invaluable service to it. He was a scholar of world-wide reputation and remarkable erudition and had a number of publications based on original research to his credit. He was besides a founder member of the Indian History Congress and one of the originators of the History Congress plan for a comprehensive History of India.

Dr. M. H. Krishna was appointed an Associate Member of the re-constituted Commission in 1942. As Director of Archaeology of the Mysore State he earned wide reputation amongst the leading archaeologists of this country and abroad. His profound knowledge of records were of great use to the Commission. He made notable contributions to its activities.

Resolution I.—This Commission deeply mourns the death of Sir Shaafat Ahmad Khan and Dr. M. H. Krishna and authorises the Secretary to convey to their relatives a message of sympathy and condolence on behalf of the Commission.

2. **Review of action taken on the resolutions of the Twenty-first (Udaipur), and Twenty-second (Peshawar) Sessions of the Indian Historical Records Commission.**

(Please see conspectus).

Dr. R. C. Majumdar drew attention to the remarks of the Government of Madras on Resolution III of the Udaipur Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission and suggested that Dewan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari may be authorised to take up this question also with the Madras Government.

The Chairman approved the suggestion.

3. **Recommendations of the Research and Publication Committee during the Jaipur Session.**

The Secretary then read out the Resolutions passed by the Research & Publication Committee and these were approved.

The Chairman pointed out that Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Committee might not be prepared to part with the papers but at the same time it was essential that proper measures should be taken for their preservation. The Commission might therefore make an alternative suggestion.

Resolution II.—This Commission approves the recommendations of the Research & Publication Committee and commends them to the Government of India with the following proviso added to Resolution No. XII on the subject of Mahatma Gandhi's manuscripts.

(In case this resolution is not found feasible the Director of Archives should be associated with the supervision of the preservation measures).

Resolution 1. Resolved that Dewan Bahadur C.S. Srinivasachari is requested to explain to the Madras Government the point of view of the Indian Historical Records Commission and settle the matter by personal discussion.

Resolution 2. This Committee recommends that the Government of India make suitable provision for special types of printing and take such prompt measures as are required in connection with the Five-year Publication Programme of the National Archives of India. Meanwhile the Secretary may be authorised to get the completed works printed through some private presses.

Resolution 3. This Committee approves the appointment of Dr. A. C. Banerjee as an Honorary Editor under the Five-year Publication Programme.

Resolution 4. This Committee recommends that all the Regional Survey Committees be requested to submit a five-year programme of work with estimates of probable expenditure not later than the end of May 1948 before the Sub-Committee consisting of the five expert members nominated by the Government of India for coordination and recommendation to the Research & Publication Committee.

Resolution 5. It is agreed that the Regional Survey Committees should submit half yearly accounts to the Secretary of the Commission duly filled in a 'form' to be supplied to them.

Decision. It was agreed that the Secretary should approach the Radio and Press authorities of the Government of India to extend similar facilities to the Regional Survey Committees as in the past.

Resolution 6. This Committee recommends that the membership and scope of activities of the West Bengal Regional Survey Committee be restricted to that part of Bengal which is within the Dominion of India.

Resolution 7. The Government of Assam be requested to set up a Regional Survey Committee, pending which the Committee for West Bengal may continue to function for Assam also.

Resolution 8. This Committee recommends to the Government of India that it is not in the interest of historical research to divide important series of records between two States in consequence of the partition. In any case care should be taken that the integrity of the series remains intact. Should one of the Dominions stand in need of any records in the custody of the other, microfilm copies of the original should be supplied and all facilities should be given to bonafide scholars from either Dominion.

Resolution 9. This Committee also recommends that a directive be given to the Government of West Bengal by the Government of the Indian Union that the local Regional Survey Committee be consulted before any decision is arrived at regarding division of the local official records between West Bengal and Eastern Pakistan.

Resolution 10. This Committee recommends that an attempt be made to compile a list of important records, both published and unpublished, bearing upon the national struggle for freedom.

Resolution 11. That the Government of India be moved to make an initial grant of Rs. 25,000 to be distributed among the Regional Survey

Committees for collection of materials relating to the proposed compilation of an authoritative history of Indian national struggle.

Resolution 12. That the Government of India and the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Committee be requested to transfer all the original writings of Mahatma Gandhi and records relating to him to the custody of the National Archives of India for preservation.

Resolution 13. That pre-1902 confidential records, Central and provincial, both military and civil, be thrown open to bonafide students of Indian history under such conditions as the respective Governments may consider necessary.

Resolution 14. This Committee recommends that a short account of the important activities of each Regional Survey Committee be published in the form of annual reports so that the important documents brought to light by them might be available to all students of history and an impetus be given to the local public for helping the Regional Committees to discover more such documents.

4. Review of action taken on the post-war development scheme.

The principal recommendations of the Indian Historical Records Commission (Udaipur Session in 1944) regarding the "Post-war Re-organisation of Archives Offices in India" are :—

- (i) Microfilm copies of all unpublished records relating to modern Indian history not available in this country should be obtained and preserved in the Imperial Record Department.
- (ii) All necessary steps should be taken for salvaging privately owned manuscripts in India. The central and provincial record offices should be legally authorised to take charge of such manuscripts when their respective owners are willing to transfer their custody on such terms as may be mutually agreed upon. Such owners as may be prepared to provide for the better preservation of their manuscripts should be given such technical advice and service as they may require.
- (iii) Unwarranted destruction and export of historical manuscripts should be legally prohibited.
- (iv) Microphotographic copies of all rare publications on India not available in this country should be obtained irrespective of the period they deal with and placed in the custody of the Imperial Record Department.
- (v) All bonafide students should have access to these copies.
- (vi) The Imperial Record Department should supply at a reasonable price copies made out of the microfilms mentioned above to Universities, learned societies, public libraries and such persons as may apply for them.
- (vii) Early steps should be taken to air-condition the muniment rooms of the Imperial Record Department with a view to securing uniformity of temperature and relative humidity.
- (viii) Vacuum fumigatorium and laminating machines should be installed in the Imperial Record Department at an early date.
- (ix) Imparting instructions in theory and practice of archives-keeping should be recognised as one of the normal duties of the Imperial Record Department.

The report on "Post-War Reorganisation of Archives Offices in India" was printed in a pamphlet form and distributed widely in India and abroad and it is a matter of gratification that many foreign agencies have taken a very keen interest in the archival activities in this country and have furnished interesting information regarding the location of documents of Indian interest in foreign repositories. A brief summary of the observations made by some of the leading foreign institutions has been appended for the information of the members. (Appendix A).

(i) *above*.—Preliminary work on this item has been started but it can be systematically pursued only when we have the additional staff and money which is expected to be sanctioned by the Government of India this year (1947).

(ii) *above*.—(a) Two years ago the Indian Historical Records Commission set up nine *ad hoc* Regional Survey Committees in the Provinces and the Government of India sanctioned last year a token grant of Rs. 6,500 for salvage work. These Committees are functioning but the progress of work has been greatly retarded owing to intermittent disturbances in different parts of the country. It is expected that the grant will be reprovided this year to enable the Committees to continue their work.

(b) The Government of India have approved in principle the Director of Archives' proposal for the grant of an annual sum of Rs. 10,000 towards the purchase of documents. The administrative sanction of Government is awaited.

(c) The Government of India have also approved in principle the Director of Archives' proposal for an annual grant of Rs. 10,000 for tendering technical service to such institutions and repositories as lack the means to take proper care of the manuscripts in their custody.

(d) Formal sanction of a further grant of Rs. 10,000 on account of subvention to learned institutions in India is also awaited. The object of this grant is to assist the institutions in preserving the records and manuscripts salvaged by the Survey Committees. It is essential that the Commission should express its opinion in the method of disbursement of the sums referred to in sub-paras. (b) and (d) *above*.

(iii) *above*.—The question of legislation regarding unwarranted destruction and export of historical manuscripts is under the consideration of the Government of India. It will interest the members to learn that an act entitled the Antiquities (Export Control) Act, 1947, has already been placed on the Statute Book. The term *antiquity* as defined by the Act includes not only coins, sculptures and epigraphs but also manuscripts which have been in existence for one hundred years and thus in a way, cover also records and historical documents. These features of the new Act deserve particular notice.

(1) Under clause 6 "If any question arises whether any article, object or thing is or is not an antiquity for the purposes of this Act, it shall be referred to the Director General of Archaeology in India and his decision is final". While Director General of Archaeology is certainly the competent authority to determine whether a manuscript should or should not be treated as an antiquity, it is certainly for a specialist in archive science to adjudge whether a manuscript falls under the category of *records* or *historical document*. As the intention of the resolution of

the Commission is to prevent the export of records or historical document of any category whatsoever it is extremely doubtful that the present Act will realise that object.

(2) The Act contains no prohibition in respect of rifling, mishandling, mislaying or dispersing the records in the private or public custody in the provinces, the States or at the Centre, and it is essential that there should be a law on the Statute Book preventing these malpractices.

(3) The definition given bears the implications that no object which is less than 100 (hundred years) old should come under the operation of the law. This may be valid so far as antiquities are concerned but is certainly not for records or historical manuscripts. What is needed therefore is a comprehensive public records legislation in the lines suggested in the resolution.

(iv-vi) *above*.—As the majority of the records repositories in Europe are still in a dislocated state it has not been possible to take steps for obtaining microfilm copies of record of Indian interest in foreign repositories. Preliminary work has however begun and attempt is being made to contact the leading archives repositories by correspondence.

(vii) *above*.—The sanction is expected for the expenditure of a sum of Rs. 1,50,000 for air-conditioning the National Archives muniment area.

(viii) *above*.—Orders have been placed in U.S.A. and Canada for Vacuum Fumigatorium and Laminating Machine and they are expected to arrive in India early in 1948.

(ix) *above*.—The syllabus for training in Archives Keeping was revised and circulated among leading institutions in India and abroad. It is gratifying to note that the remodelled syllabus has been favourably commented on by distinguished authorities on the subject, like Professor V. K. Galbraith, the Director of the Institute of Historical Research, London, and Hilary Jenkinson, Deputy Keeper, Public Record Office, London, and Secretary to the British Records Association. An appreciative notice has also been published in the *American Archivist*, the journal of the Society of American Archivists. In its meeting held in Simla in May 1946, the Standing Committee of Central Legislature on Education considered this training scheme and recommended that requisite financial assistance should be forthcoming to encourage students to take up this training in larger numbers. The Government of India are expected to sanction three stipends at Rs. 100 per month each amounting to an annual expenditure of Rs 3,600.

The series to be published under the Scheme I of the Five-year Publication Programme has been named "Fort-William India House Correspondence", and 178 MSS. Vols. will make 21 volumes in print. Typescripts of almost all the 21 volumes have been distributed to the Honorary Editors appointed from time to time by the Government of India at the instance of the Indian Historical Records Commission. It is hoped that the Government of India will sanction the payment of an honorarium of Rs. 1,500 to the editor of each volume. The progress of work has been detailed elsewhere.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar complained that the financial grant to the Regional Survey Committees was very inadequate. They must have

more money for salvaging work. He enquired what progress had been made with regard to items Nos. (i) and (iii).

The Chairman observed that as we could not afford to lose our cultural heritage the need of enhancing financial grants to the Regional Survey Committees with a view to salvaging manuscript records in private custody must be pressed upon the Government.

The Secretary explained that owing to the exigencies of war official records in the belligerent countries had been removed from the threatened area. The great bulk of the English records relating to India was in the India Office. It was doubtful whether they had been restored to their previous storing place for the India Office had not so far been able to comply with his request for copies of Browne Correspondence not available in the National Archives of India. He was therefore compelled to go slow so far as this item was concerned. As for item (ii) he suggested that a greater effort should be made to enlist public support on a wider scale. Item (iii) is still under the consideration of the Government of India and could be more conveniently discussed under the resolution tabled by Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggested that a small Committee should be appointed with the Chairman of the Research & Publication Committee and the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission and three other members to advise the Director of Archives in the disbursement of the grants mentioned under (ii) (b), (c) and (d) above.

The Chairman observed that the recommendations of the proposed Committee would carry greater weight if it had the Honourable Minister as its Chairman.

Dr. N. K. Sinha enquired whether the National Archives of India was in a position to supply microfilm copies of records to research scholars.

The Secretary replied that he was not in a position to meet an unlimited demand but he would be able to serve the needs of research scholars to a limited extent until additional accommodation for housing the machinery and the necessary technical staff were available.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar enquired whether suitable accommodation would be available for housing the apparatus for which orders had been placed abroad.

The Secretary replied that existing accommodation was inadequate even for the existing staff and laboratory. His difficulties were considerably enhanced as a part of the office building had been reoccupied by the Central Asian Antiquities Museum. The Government of India had decided to construct an additional wing to relieve the existing congestion and the matter now rested with the Central Public Works Department. This question was discussed at length during the Indore Session.

The Chairman suggested that as for want of suitable accommodation the machinery already in the National Archives of India could not properly be utilised and also in view of the fact that other machinery were expected to arrive soon from abroad, first priority should be given by the Government of India to the construction of additional accommodation.

Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar drew attention to item (ix) and pointed out that in view of the increased cost of living the proposed rate of stipends should be enhanced, he further added that no distinction should be made in awarding the proposed honorarium between the editors entrusted with volumes in English and those who had undertaken to edit records in oriental languages.

Diwan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari supported the proposals.

The following resolutions were thereafter passed—

Resolution III.—This Commission requests the Government of India to provide as early as possible necessary staff and building for housing and working the machinery and suggests that top priority may be given to the construction of a new wing for housing the laboratory and installing the new machinery.

Resolution IV.—That a Committee be appointed with the Honourable Minister for Education as Chairman, Secretary of the Commission as Secretary and the five experts nominated by the Government of India as members to advise the Director of Archives about the disbursements of funds to learned societies for the preservation of purchased documents.

Resolution V.—This Commission recommends to the Government that in view of the high cost of living prevailing at Delhi, the proposed stipends for trainees in the National Archives of India should be adequately enhanced.

Resolution VI.—This Commission recommends that the Editors of the Records in oriental languages should be treated on the same basis as the editors of English records and that they should be entitled to the proposed honorarium.

5. Representation on the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology.

The term of office of the present representative (Dr. S. N. Sen, Secretary), on the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology will expire in February 1948. The Government of India have requested the Indian Historical Records Commission to send up its nomination for another term. Suggestions of the members are invited.

Diwan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari proposed and **Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad** seconded that **Dr. S. N. Sen** be elected to represent the Commission on the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology.

The following resolution was then unanimously passed :—

Resolution VII.—This Commission unanimously elects **Dr. S. N. Sen** on the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology.

The Chairman at this stage stated that he had to leave for Delhi at 11 a.m. If the Commission thought that a particular item was of special importance he was prepared to permit them to be considered now.

Mahamahopadhyaya B. N. Sen claimed that the resolution tabled by him should be taken up before the Chairman left.

6. Resolution by Mahamahopadhyaya B.N. Reu—On the use of Hindi or Hindustani

In view of the emancipation of the country from its foreign serfdom, necessitating the re-orientation of our outlook and aspirations in all walks of life—the historian's sphere being no exception,— and in view of the lead given by the Union Government, a number of provincial Governments, local bodies and Universities to raise Hindi or Hindustani from its erstwhile position of a vernacular to the dignified status of a common vehicle of national intercourse, it is highly desirable that the Indian Historical Records Commission will rise to the occasion by gradually shedding its English complex and giving every facility and encouragement for its proceedings being conducted in Hindi or Hindustani, so that within a period of five years at the maximum, Hindi or Hindustani written in the Devanagari character may come to supplant entirely its English predecessor. It is therefore proposed that an amendment in the constitution of Commission may kindly be made accordingly.

The **Chairman** observed that we should go slow and wait for the final decision of the Constituent Assembly. After a lengthy discussion in which Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. P. M. Joshi, Dr. H. N. Sinha and Diwan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari took part, the following resolution was passed :—

Resolution VIII.—This Commission recommends that the Indian Historical Records Commission will conduct its proceedings in the language that may be officially adopted by the Government of India. Pending the decision of the Government of India on the subject the present practice should continue.

Mahamahopadhyaya Reu pressed his resolution in favour of the immediate adoption of Hindi or Hindustani to a division and it was negatively.

Resolution by Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad

7. Creation of a Department of Archives.

This Commission recommends to the Government of India to establish a separate and independent Department of Archives and not make this subject an appendage of other Department.

Explanatory Note.—The subject of archives is a highly technical and important subject which requires for its adequate treatment an independent Department of the Government of India. At present the Imperial Record Department is subordinate to the Department of Education which is over-burdened with educational work and as such may not be able to give the same attention which the proper preservation, acquisition and control of archives throughout the Indian Union may demand. In order to have a uniform policy throughout the Union and have an active control over the provincial archives as well as to implement the programme of regional survey it is essential that the Government of India should have a separate department of archives.

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad withdrew his resolution in view of the Chairman's explanation that the Archives were not a big enough subject for a separate Ministry.—

At this stage Sir S. S. Bhatnagar left the meeting for Delhi on urgent official business and Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar was voted to the Chair.

8. Legislation on Archives.

Resolved that the Commission reiterate their request to the Government of India to undertake suitable legislation, by amendment of Act III of 1879 or otherwise for preventing export or transfer outside of records, historical documents and manuscripts from the Indian Union, and unwarranted destruction thereof.

Explanatory Note.—At the Twenty-third Session, 1946, a resolution to this effect was adopted by the Commission but so far the Government of India do not seem to have given their attention to this matter. In the meantime there has been a partition of India involving the creation of a separate sovereign State of Pakistan which has led even to the demand for a partition of the records and their transfer to the Pakistan Government outside the Indian Union. The danger of export of historical documents and manuscripts from the shores of India to the other countries has always been acute but with the creation of the Pakistan State it has become all the more serious. Unless, therefore, suitable legislation altogether forbidding the movement of records, historical documents and manuscripts from the Indian Union is immediately undertaken there is every likelihood of the Union being defrauded of its historical treasures. In the past years the Historical Records Commission has made a demand for the amendment of Act III of 1879 to prevent unwarranted destruction of records. The post-war reconstruction scheme adopted by the Commission in 1944 laid stress on the legal prohibition of export of the historical manuscripts but no action has yet been taken on this demand by the Government of India. As the danger is imminent, the Commission should now request the Government of Indian Union for immediate legislation for banning the movement of all such records and manuscripts out of the country.

Secretary's Note.—In Resolution IV of the Research and Publication Committee which met at Indore in 1946, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad moved the same resolution. It was forwarded to the Government of India with suitable recommendation and their decision is awaited.

Resolution IX.—Resolved that the Commission reiterates its request to the Government of India to undertake suitable legislation, by amendment of Act III of 1879 or otherwise for preventing export or transfer outside of records, historical documents and manuscripts from the Indian Union and unwarranted destruction thereof.

9. International Archives Organisation.

Dr. Solon J. Buck, Archivist, The National Archives of U.S.A., addressed a letter to Dr. S. N. Sen, Director National Archives of India, soliciting his views on the proposal to establish a permanent international archives council. The details of the proposal are appended (Appendix B). The members are requested to offer their comments.

Dr. N. K. Sinha commended the action taken by the Director of Archives, Government of India, and suggested that under item 5 of the reply sent to Dr. Solon J. Buck, a provision should be made for inclusion of at least one 'user' of archives.

The following resolution was then passed :—

Resolution X.—This Commission approves of the suggestion made in Director of Archives' letter with the proviso that of the five co-opted members. (answer No. 5) at least one should represent the 'user' of archives.

10. Establishment of Cultural Relation with Egypt.

The Consul-General for Egypt approached the Government of India in connexion with the Royal Society of Historical Studies in Egypt. This Society is concerned with historical studies in general and specially with the various aspects of Egyptian history. It sought to establish relations with similar societies in India. A brief account of the aims and objects and the activities of the Indian Historical Records Commission was furnished and a few books and pamphlets were also supplied to the Society. A list of fifteen leading historical research institutions in India was also supplied. The Royal Society has been assured of the Commission's cooperation.

Recorded.

11. Diamond Jubilee of the Allahabad University.

The University of Allahabad which celebrated its Diamond Jubilee in December 1947, invited the Indian Historical Records Commission to appoint one or more delegates to be present on the occasion. As the terms of office of all the members of the Commission expired on the 15th August, the Secretary approached the President of the Indian Historical Records Commission and the Chairman, Research and Publication Committee to nominate one delegate out of the three *ex-officio* office bearers of the Commission. The Government of India have since nominated the Secretary to represent the Indian Historical Records Commission on the Diamond Jubilee celebration of the Allahabad University.

Recorded.

12. Reports on Inspection of Records.

In conformity with the Resolution III of the Indian Historical Records Commission met at Peshawar in 1945, the Government of India permitted the Director of Archives to visit each province every three years and to submit reports to them and also to the Commission on the state of preservation of Central Government and Crown records in provincial custody. The late His Excellency the Crown Representative also permitted him to inspect old records in the custody of the Residencies. Some of these Reports are laid on the table.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar proposed that all the inspection reports should be printed in a separate volume independently of the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Dr. P. M. Joshi suggested that the inspection report on the Alienation Office which contained important information regarding preservation of records should also be included in the proposed volume.

Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar added that as these reports contained valuable information they should be published serially from time to time. The reports so far submitted should form the first volume.

The following resolution was then passed :—

Resolution XI.—Resolved that the inspection reports so far submitted by the Director of Archives, Government of India, should not only be published in the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission but should be published independently in a separate volume for ready reference.

13. Parliamentary Papers.

The question of free supply of Parliamentary Papers to the Library of the National Archives of India was considered by the Government of India at the instance of the Indian Historical Records Commission. The Government of India inform that they are not in a position to obtain free supply of these reports from His Majesty's Government. The collection in the National Archives has many gaps in them and to render the collection more useful it is essential that it should be completed and brought up-to-date. It is therefore, for consideration whether a separate Government grant should not be asked for filling the gaps as well as for regular purchase in future.

Resolution XII.—Resolved that the Government of India be requested to make a special grant for filling up the gaps of the Parliamentary Paper Series now owned by the National Archives of India, as well as for purchase of future volumes.

14. Proposal by Pudukkottai Durbar on Residency Records.

With the cessation of paramountcy on the 15th August, it is expected that Residencies will be closed. It is therefore recommended to the Dominion Governments of India and Pakistan and the Central Records Department that all documents in the Archives of the Residencies may be transferred to the respective States to which they relate.

Explanatory Note.—The need for such a transfer is obvious. After paramountcy goes, there is no question of any document being confidential. A collection of all records relating to the different States, housed in the Central Records Offices of the respective States will afford proper scope for scholars to carry on research on the history of those States.

Secretary's Note.—The problem of the future custody of the Residency records is still under the consideration of the Government of India. It may however be stated that these records do not come under the category of the regional records properly so called. They are on the contrary administrative instruments of agencies under the control of a Central authority now defunct, viz., His Excellency the Crown Representative. Under established international practice the archival assets of a defunct State or Government are inherited by the successor Government. It should also be noted that most of the States are still without properly organised records offices and research students have no access to documents owned by them.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar said that the resolution as it stood could not be accepted and suggested that the late Residency records should be transferred to the National Archives of India for better preservation and research facilities.

Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta pointed out that the Residency records might very often be required not only by the Regional Commissioners for their official work but also by the States concerned.

After some discussion on the subject the following resolution was passed :—

Resolution XIII.—This Commission recommends to the Government of India that the administrative control of pre-1902 records which were in the custody of late British Residencies should be transferred to the National Archives of India.

Proposals by Dr. Y. K. Deshpande.

15. Inheritance of India Office Assets.

In view of the abolition of the India Office of the Secretary of State, the question of locating the library of the printed books and also that of the manuscripts of literary and historical value in the East India Office might be under consideration. It is therefore proposed that the Central Government at Delhi be requested to move the British Government to hand the library to it (the Central Government at Delhi), and that it is further suggested that the library be under the control of the Director of the Imperial Records Department at Delhi.

Explanatory Note.—Majority of the printed books in the library are in the oriental languages and have been obtained mostly from India from the authors and publishers under specific rules. The manuscripts of literature have been collected from India and mostly belong to the oriental languages. As for the records in manuscript which are in the India Office Library, are connected with the Indian affairs and are wholly of the historical nature. It will therefore be in the fitness of things that the whole library should be handed over to the Central Government at Delhi as it is the Central place. It will be proper and also convenient to the scholars if the library is under the control of the Director of the Imperial Record Department.

Resolution XIV.—This Commission recommends that the books, manuscripts, etc., in the possession of India Office should be brought to India and deposited in the National Archives of India.

16. Creation of Historical Sections in Records Offices.

That this Commission recommends all the provincial Governments and the states to open a separate section in the Record Department for historical records and that section should be given in charge of an officer who knows English, Persian and the language of the province.

Explanatory Note.—At present the manuscripts of the historical nature have been kept in the records of the various departments and as such it is not available in one place. Besides there is no one person in charge of such documents. If there is one person in charge of the historical documents it will be convenient to arrange to preserve them and also it will be easy for the scholars who desire to study them, to get them without loss of time in search for them.

Secretary's Note.—Only a few provinces and Indian States have fully organised Central Records Offices. Moreover, all records are of historical value and it is neither desirable nor practicable to separate the

so-called non-historical records from historical. Papers which may appear at one time unimportant, may prove of great historical importance at a subsequent date. Many of the papers which were at one time classed as 'C' (unimportant) at the National Archives of India have on later examination been found to be of immense evidential value.

In view of Secretary's note Dr. Y. K. Deshpande withdrew his resolution.

17. Resolution by Sri S. Gopalan on South Indian History.

That three members of this Commission be deputed to compile and publish a history of South India under the heading RECONSTRUCTION OF SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY.

Explanatory Note.—It is found from authentic records available in the Saraswati Mahal Library at Tanjore and elsewhere that events like wars and dynastic changes and their causes have yet to be brought to light and that the conventional accounts of the same as given in text books and other publications on the subject have to be rewritten in the light of the said records. For instance, the real causes for the invasion of the South by Hyder Ali and the clash between him and the East India Company as well as the Crown Representative in Madras, the alignment of powers in the south during the 18th century and the battles and campaigns conducted by the British in conjunction with and in opposition to chieftains and kings, provide many fresh chapters in our history.

Secretary's Note.—This Commission is concerned with unearthing and publishing original sources of Indian history. The actual compilation of history should be the business of other organisations.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar supported the remarks in the "Secretary's note" and the resolution was not moved.

18. Resolution by Mr. B. V. Bhat regarding financial grant to research institutions in India.

This session of the Historical Records Commission strongly recommends the provincial Governments in the Dominion of India to give adequate grants to historical research institutions in their provinces expressly for the preservation of the collection of manuscripts and historical documents in their possession.

Explanatory Note.—I have personal knowledge about 4 historical research institutes in Maharastra viz. (1) The Bharat Itihasa Sanshodhan Mandal, Poona (2) An institution founded at Miraj in memory of Vasudev Shastri Khare (3) Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandal, Dhulia (4) Samartha Vagdevta Mandir at Dhulia (5) Sharadashram at Yeotmal, Berar. These institutions possess large collections of manuscripts and original historical documents. From a cultural point of view their importance is great and they deserve to be preserved for being handed down from generation to generation. The financial condition of these institutions is far from satisfactory and their founders find it difficult to make both ends meet. There may be many more such institutions in different provinces of India, but they may also possess such collections.

So far nothing has been done in this direction and it is high time that some such step as indicated in the above resolution be at once taken.

Resolution XV.—This Commission recommends the provincial Governments in the Dominion of India to give adequate grants to historical research institutions in their provinces expressly for the preservation of the collection of manuscripts and historical documents in their possession.

19. Date and place of the 1943 and 1949 Meetings.

The Secretary informed the Commission that the Delhi University had invited the Indian Historical Records Commission to hold its 25th Session under its auspices and no invitation had so far been received for the 1949 Session.

The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to Sir S. S. Bhatnagar and Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar proposed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and seconded by Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.

20. Papers on the following subjects are laid on the table.—

(i) Report of the Tenth Meeting of the Research and Publication Committee held at New Delhi in March 1947.

(ii) Annual Reports of the—

(a) Imperial Record Department (1946).

(b) Bengal Records Office (1945).

(c) Coorg (1946).

(d) Madras (1946-47).

(iii) Constitution of the Indian Historical Records Commission as amended by the Government of India after the creation of the Dominion of India.

(iv) Inspection reports of the Director of Archives, Government of India, of the Crown and Central Government records and records in the custody of—

(a) Government of United Provinces (Lucknow and Allahabad).

(b) Government of Bihar (Patna).

(c) Chief Commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara (Ajmer).

(d) Rajputana Residency (Mt. Abu).

(e) Central India Residency (Indore).

(f) Jaipur State.

(g) Alwar State.

(v) List of books and periodicals presented to the Indian Historical Records Commission and/or the National Archives of India during 1947.

GROUP I.—*Presented by the authors and the individuals.*—

Dr. N. K. Sinha and Dr. A. C. Banerjee, History of India, 2nd edition, 1947.

Dr. P. C. Gupta, Polier's Shahi Alam II and his court—1947.

Mr. Jagmohan Mahajan, Private Correspondence of Sir Frederic Currie, 1846-4.

Dr. G. N. Saletore, The British Expedition against Dhondji Vagh (pamphlet).

Col. R. H. Phillimore, *Memoirs Relative to the State of India by Warren Hastings, 1787.*

GROUP II—*Presented by the learned institutions.*

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona—

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXVII, Parts I—IV in 2 vols. 1946.

Agra University—

Agra University Calendar, 1945-46.

Bombay University—

Catalogue of the Library of the University of Bombay for 1901, 1920-1941 and list of additions for 1947—23 vols.

Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona.

Hinge Daftar, Volume II.

Madras University—

Catalogues and books on Chemistry, Technology, Engineering, Physics and Mathematics, 1939.

Supplement to the Madras University Library Catalogues, 1938—1940.—6 vols.

Mysore University—

Catalogue of books on several works, Philosophy, Religion, Sociology Philology, Science, Useful Arts, Fine Arts, Literature, History, Persian, Arabic and Urdu books, 1935.—7 vols.

Nagpur University—

1. *Nagpur University Library catalogue of Books on Philosophy, Religion Economics, History and Social Sciences, 1942-43—4 vols.*

2. *Nagpur University Journal—Journal of the University of Nagpur 1945.*

Nagpur University Historical Society—

Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Society, October 1947.

Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society, October 1946.

Patna University—

Catalogues of Patna University Library from 1927—1933 and from 1936—39.

Karachi Corporation—

Administration Report of the Corporation of the City of Karachi for 1945-46.

Editor, Investment and Finance, Delhi—

Investment and Finance, January to November 1947.

Government of Assam, Dept. of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Gauhati—

1. Annals of the Delhi Badshahate by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, 1947.
2. Lachit Barphukan and his times by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, 1947.
3. Asamar Padya Buranji, ed. by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, 1932.
4. Deodhai Assam Buranji, ed. by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, 1932.
5. Assam Buranji, 1228—1696, ed. by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, 1945.
6. Kamrupar Buranji, ed. by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, 1930.
7. Jayantia Buranji, ed. by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, 1937.
8. Tripura Buranji, ed. by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, 1938.
9. Ankia Nat, ed. by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, 1940.
10. Nitilatankur, ed. by Sarat Ch. Goswami and Pandit Joy Krishna Misra 1941.

Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda—

Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery 1943-44, to 1945-46.—5 vols.

Selection from Shastri Daftar.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris—

Catalogue General ; list des catalogues evente—cabinet des estampes (1946) lists des Department des Medalilles et antique etc. 1946.

Institute of Historical Research, London—

1. Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Vol. XX May and November 1944 ; May & Novr. 1945.
2. Institute of Historical Research, Twentyfifth Annual Report of the Institute of Historical Research, London, 1945-46.
3. School of History and Institute of Historical Research, Instruction Courses for 1946-47.

School for Oriental and African Studies, London—

Calendar for the year 1946-47.

Report of the governing body. Statement of accounts and departmental reports for the year ending 31st July 1946.

University of London—

University of London—subjects of dissertations and theses and published work presented by successful candidates at examinations for higher degrees from 1937—1944.

University of London Library.—Classified catalogue of selected accessions 1945-46.

Royal Empire Society, London—

1. Best books on the British Empire. A bibliographical Guide for students by Evans Lewin, 2nd ed., London—1945.
2. Bibliography of Pacific region and East Indian Islands, Exclusive of Japan by Evans Lewin, 1944.

3. Hastings Bi-centenary. Selected list of printed publications relating to Warren Hastings by Miss Vera Ward, 1932.

4. Royal Colonial Institute—

A select list of recent publications contained in the library of the Royal Colonial Institute, London, illustrating the constitutional relations between the various parts of the British Empire, compiled by Evans Lewin, 1937.

Harvard University—

Harvard University Archives, 1942.

Library of Congress, Washington—

1. Library of Congress—Information Bulletins, 1947.

2. Library of Congress quarterly journal and current Acquisitions.—February 1946 : November 1946.

3. List of publications issued by the Library of Congress since 1897, 1935.

4. Library of Congress, Orientalia Division.

South East Asia 1935—45 (a selected list of reference books) Washington 1946.

Louisiana State University, Department of Archives—

Guide to manuscript collections in the Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Vol. I, ed. by William Hogan, 1940.

Illinois State Library, Springfield, Illinois—

Illinois Libraries

Bulletins from September to December 1946.

National Archives, Washington—

1. The Archivist's "One World" by Solon J. Buck.

2. Eleventh Annual Report of the Archivist of U.S.A. 1944-45.

3. Twelfth Annual Report of the Archivist of U.S.A. 1945-46.

4. A proposed Archives programme for the U.N.E.S.C.O., by Solon, J. Buck.

Chinese-American Institute of Cultural relations and the National Library of Peiping, China—

Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography. Vols. IV & V, 1944-45.

New York Public Library—

1. Bulletin of the New York Public Library, June 1947.

2. Report of the New York Public Library for 1946.

Oregon State Library—

Report of State Library, Archives Division, July 1944 to June 1946.

L'Ecole Francaise D' Extreme-Orient, Hanoi—

1. Bibliographie de L'Indochine Francaise by Paul Boudet and Remi Bourgeois, for 1927—1929 & 1930. 2 vols. Hanoi, 1933.
2. Bibliotheque De L'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient L'menagement de Cettae Collection de Livees et de manuscripts n.d.
3. L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient Less civilisations de L'Indochine et L'ecole Francaise D'extreme-Orient—1943.
4. L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient Sommaire de L'activite de L'Ecole Francaise D'extreme-Orient, de 1940—1945.
5. Malleret' Louis
Aux temple d'Ahnkor Avecles vo ageurs, Les romanciers et lespoetes, Saigon 1932.
6. Institute Indo-chinois pour L'etude de L'Home Sommaire de-taille des cours et conferences (Annee Scolaire 1943-1944) Hanoi, 1943.

Association Francaise de Aruits de L'Orient, Paris—

Institute de France (Annuaire pour 1945 et 1946).

Director, French Information Services, 27, Connaught Circus, New Delhi—

1. France Orient, Fevier 1947.
2. French Weekly, January to April 1947.

Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia Government Archives—

Baines, Thomas

Northern Goldfields diaries of Thomas Baines 1869—1872 published in London by Chatto & Windus for the Government Archives of Southern Rhodesia, 1947, 3 Vols.

Union of South Africa Archives—

1. Archives year book for South African History ; published by the authority of the minister of the interior ed. by Coenraed Beyers and others, 1943-44.
2. Report of a visit to Various Archives Centres in Europe, United States of America and Canada by C. Graham Botha, 1922.

Archivo Nacional de Cuba, La Habana, Cuba

1. Indica del Boletin del Archivo Nacional No. 12, 1946.
2. Catalogo de Los fondos de la Junta Superior de Sanidad de la Isla de Cuba, No. 13, 1947.

Saskatchewan Archives, Regina—

First report of the Saskatchewan Archives, 1945-46.

**Conspectus of action taken—Indian Historical Record Commission—
Twenty-first Session, Udaipur 1944.**

Resolution III.—This Commission fully approves of the scheme embodied in the Report on the Post-war Reorganisation of Archives Offices and Historical Researches in India drafted by the Research and Publication Committee at its fourth meeting and recommends that the report be forwarded at an early date to the Government of India, provincial Governments and Indian States for necessary action.

1. The *Karauli Darbar* state that their post-war reorganisation scheme is limited to the construction of roads only. They add that such records as relate to the war period and are not required for current purposes have already been preserved and will be available to future research scholars readily.

2. The reply of the *Government of Madras* is noted below :—

(i) *Proposal to depute an officer to foreign countries to take microfilm copies of records which are missing in the Imperial Record Department.*—No action in this respect is called for by this Government since the gaps in the Madras Records are extremely few.

(ii) *Proposals to take steps to salvage manuscripts of historical interest lying in private custody and to set apart funds for the purpose.*—These suggestions will be considered when a permanent Regional Survey Committee for this province is set up by Government.

(iii) *Proposal to keep bundles containing records flat upon the shelves instead of vertically.*—This suggestion is now under the consideration of this Government in consultation with the Curator, Madras Record Office.

(iv) *Proposals to introduce vacuum fumigation and air-conditioning in the record rooms of the Imperial Record Department.*—The records of this Government in the Madras Record Office are generally free from insects and hence vacuum fumigation is not really necessary. Air-conditioning of the rooms will be too costly to be undertaken by this Government. A proposal to provide additional vacuum cleaners for dusting the records is under consideration.

(v) *Proposal to repair old records according to the method of lamination.*—This method requires special and costly machinery and skilled technician to work it. Moreover, it is understood that this method has been severely condemned by eminent archivists as a dangerous innovation. The present methods of repairing records is with chiflon and as it has stood the test of time it is proposed to continue it.

(vi) *Proposal to train archivists in the Imperial Record Department.*—As facilities are available in the Madras Record Office to train Record-Keepers, it is considered unnecessary to depute any person to the Imperial Record Department for training.

- (vii) *Proposal that the technical services of the Government record offices should be available to private owners, small record offices in British India and the States which may be unable to go in for costly scientific apparatus.*—The Madras Record Office has always been rendering such service whenever approached.
- (viii) *Proposal for legislation to prohibit the unwarranted destruction and export of historical manuscripts.*—The Government of India Act XXXI of 1947 is sufficient for the present to prohibit exportation of historical manuscripts. The type of legislation contemplated to prohibit unwarranted destruction of records may be indicated clearly to enable this Government to offer their remarks.

REMARKS.—The Government of Madras was informed with reference to para 5 of their letter that the Indian Historical Records Commission is not aware that the process of lamination has been condemned by any eminent archivist as a “dangerous innovation”. They were requested to quote or send the relevant literature in which any eminent archivist had categorically condemned the lamination process as a dangerous innovation for being placed before the Indian Historical Records Commission for discussion.

Resolution VIII.—This Commission recommends to the provincial Governments and States to institute scholarships to enable competent students to carry on original investigations in the Central and provincial Records Offices and to finance the publication of the results of their research work when completed.

1. The *Government of Central Provinces and Berar* regret that it has not been possible for them to consider the resolution for the budget of 1947-48 owing to other heavy financial commitments.

2. The *Dhar Darbar* are maintaining a History Department which is doing research work in Regional History. They do not consider it necessary to institute the scholarships.

3. The *Jaora Darbar* inform that there is no suitable candidate in the State to carry on original investigation in the Central and provincial Records Offices. They regret therefore that no action can be taken on the resolution.

4. The *Sailana Darbar* approve of the resolution and will take steps to implement it as and when necessary. There are no students to carry on any research work.

5. The *Jhabua Darbar* state that no candidate is available in the State to carry on original investigation in the State Records Office and hence the Darbar do not consider it essential to institute any scholarships for the purpose or to finance the publication of the results or research work, when completed.

6. The *Barwani Darbar* inform that the old records of the State have been destroyed by fire and therefore the action recommended by the Commission cannot be taken by the Darbar.

7. The *Alirajpur State* is too small to take any action recommended in the resolution.

Twenty-second Meeting, Peshawar, 1945.

Resolution I.—The Commission lends its whole-hearted support to the proposals of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in general and to that relating to the establishment of a Central Records Office at Calcutta in particular and invites attention of the authorities to the resolutions passed by the Commission on the subject in its previous sessions and recommends that a Central Records Office be established by the Government of Bengal as early as possible.

The decision of the *Government of India* on the proposals of the *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* which have nine parts are as follows :—

- (i) *Establishment of a Traveller's Department in India.*—A copy of the resolution was forwarded by the Government of India to the late Railway Department (Railway Board) for information in so far as it related to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal's proposal for the establishment of a Traveller's Department in India. (Please see conspectus page 122, Part III, I.H.R.C. Proceedings Vol. XXIII).
- (ii) *Establishment of a Central Records Office in Bengal.*—The *Government of Bengal* (late) to whom the resolution was forwarded by the Government of India, informed that the creation of a Central Records Office in the province formed one of the Post-War Reconstruction Scheme of the Government. But as the scheme was given a low priority by the Provincial Development Board there was little likelihood of its being taken up within the next year or two.
- (iii) *Development of the Archaeological Survey of India.*—The Government of India have already sanctioned the first and second instalments of the proposals made by the Director General of Archaeology in regard to the reorganisation of the Archaeological Survey of India. The third and final programme in this respect is at present under consideration of the Government.
- (iv) *Establishment of a National Museum.*—A scheme for the establishment of a Central National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology prepared by the Gwyer Committee has been accepted in principle by the Government of India and the details of this scheme are under consideration.
- (v) *Amendment of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act.*—The amendment of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act is under consideration of the Government of India. The views of the provincial Governments who were addressed are being awaited. An Act, called the Antiquities (Export Control) Act, 1947, making better provision for controlling the export of objects of antiquarian or historical interest or significance from India has recently been passed.
- (vi) *Establishment of a School of Architecture in India.*—The decision of the Government of India is awaited.

(vii and ix) *Création of a National Cultural Trust and Constitution of National Parks.*—Copies of the Royal Asiatic Society's scheme for the establishment of National Parks in India were forwarded to the provincial Governments (June 1945) for such action as they considered desirable. The Society was informed of this. The Central Advisory Board of Education have formulated a scheme for the establishment of an "Indian Cultural Trust" which will undertake among other things the establishment of National Parks in India. This scheme is now under the consideration of the Government of India.

(viii) *Establishment of a National Academy of Art and Letters*—The decision of the Government of India is awaited.

REMARKS.—The decisions of the Government of India have been communicated to the Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Resolution III.—This Commission is of opinion that it is desirable that the Director of Archives should visit each province once in three years and submit reports to the Government of India and to the Indian Historical Records Commission on the state of preservation in which the old historical Records may be found with such suggestions as may lead to improvement in the existing state of things.

1. The *Government of Bengal* (late) informed that all facilities would be afforded to the Director of Archives, Government of India, while visiting the province in connection with examination of the Crown and Central Government records in the custody of the provincial Government.

Resolution VII.—This Commission requests the provincial Governments and Indian States to furnish the Imperial Record Department with a list of different series of records in their possession showing the gaps or wanting papers in such series.

1. The *Dholpur Government* agree to the recommendation and add that there is a General Record Room in the State and any records, if and when received, which may be found to be of interest for the Imperial Record Department, will be communicated to them.

2. The *Patiala Government* have forwarded the following list of historical documents which are in their archives :—

I. FIRMAN AND SANADS FROM AND AGREEMENTS WITH—

(a) The Padshahs of Delhi.

(i) Firman, dated Ziqad 10, Julius 5 conferring the title of Maharajadhiraj Rajeshwar on Maharaja Sahib Singh Mahendar Bahadur by Akbar Shah II.

(b) The Shahs of Afghanistan.

(i) Two documents dated Shaban 22, 1174 II from Ahmad Shah's Wazir confirming Raja Alha Singh in the possession of his territory.

(ii) Firman from Timur Shah, dated Rajab 11, 1192 II.

(c) The Marathas.

- (i) Wajib-ul-Arz to General Perron for co-operation against George Thomas, dated 30 Rabi-us-Sani, Julus 43.
- (ii) Treaty of Friendship with General Perron, dated Ramzan 21, 1216H.

(d) The British Government in India

- (i) Wajib-ul-Arz to Lord Lake and its reply acknowledging amity with Patiala.

There are a number of Sanads from the British Government relating to grant of territories and conferring certain rights and privileges. Most of these are printed in Aitchison's *Treaties and Sanads*.

II. CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE BRITISH RESIDENTS AT DELHI AND BRITISH OFFICERS. SOME OF THE LETTERS ARE :—

- (i) A. Seton to Maharaja Saheb Singh, May 29, 1808.
- (ii) A. Seton to Maharaja Saheb Singh, Nov. 17, 1808.
- (iii) C. Metcalfe to Maharaja Karam Singh, June 24, 1808.
- (iv) W. Fraser to Maharaja Karam Singh, October, 1, 1814.
- (v) C. Elliot to Maharaja Karam Singh, November 24, 1824.
- (vi) D. Ochterlony to Maharaja Saheb Singh, March 14, 1811.
- (vii) D. Ochterlony to Rani Sahiba, Oct. 9, 1814.
- (viii) D. Ochterlony to Maharaja Karam Singh, October 19, 1822.

III. REPORTS OF PATIALA WAKILS FROM CONTIGUOUS BRITISH DISTRICTS FROM SAMVAT 1883 TO 1912 (PRE-MUTINY PERIOD).

3. The *Jhalawar Darbar* have furnished the following list of Hindi Books (manuscripts) of historical significance available at Brijnagar.

- (i) Mahabharat Adi Sabha Van Paryantam by Vyas Nilkanth (1145 pages) Samvat 1947.
- (ii) Bharat Sar by Vyas Nilkanth (167 pages) Samvat 1884.
- (iii) Valmiki Ramayan by Govindachaya (781 pages) Samvat 1884.
- (iv) Itihas Sar Samucharya (printed) by Mansaravi (120 pages) Samvat 1853.
- (v) Prithviraj Rasa by Chand (287 pages) Samvat 1845.

4. The *Narsingarh Darbar* inform that they have no historical papers of the nature suggested by the Commission.

Resolution IX.—This Commission recommends to the Indian Universities that under their schemes of popular and extension lectures, Keepers and Curators of records offices and scholars engaged in editing old records (Imperial, provincial or States) be requested to deliver courses of lectures in different provincial centres on the nature and subject matter of the records that they have examined and edited.

2. The *Osmania University* informs that the Board of Extension lectures of the University has decided that if there are any eminent scholars among the person referred to in the resolution, the question of inviting them for extension lectures will have due consideration.

2. The *Punjab University* (late) accepted the recommendation with the addition of the word "and other educational centres" after "in different Provincial Centres".

APPENDIX A.

SUMMARY OF MESSAGES OF GOODWILL RECEIVED FROM DISTINGUISHED FOREIGN ARCHIVISTS AND SCHOLARS ON THE POST-WAR REORGANISATION OF ARCHIVAL OFFICES IN INDIA.

1. *Mr. D. A. Chart—Deputy Keeper of the Public Records Office, Northern Ireland.*—"This office is naturally interested to hear of the developments in record collection and maintenance which have been going in India, and will be very ready to co-operate in every way it can. Matters of Indian interest occasionally came to light here as for instance, the references to Warren Hastings and Macartney in the annual printed reports, 1925, p. 19, 1926, p. 17, and 1930, p. 6. In 1936, we were able to secure the deposit in the India Office of the letter book of a servant of the East India Company Andrew Duhram 1783-1791...."

2. *Mr. R. L. Atkinson, Secretary, Historical Manuscript Commission, London.*—"The scheme seems an admirable one and should be very useful if it can enlist the intelligent and active support of the Governments and Institutions concerned. The difficulty of a large scale scheme for the training of archivists is to be sure that enough bodies are prepared to employ the archivists when trained; but as your course is being arranged under Government auspices it is to be hoped the Government of India will, so far as it can, impress upon the provincial Governments, and on those of the States, the importance of providing for the care and maintenance of their archives..... It is possible that the Register of Archives now being undertaken by my Commission may reveal other manuscripts collections of Indian interest, and if so I could give you brief particulars as to their extent and location."

3. *Mr. H. M. Cashmore, President, Library Association, London.*—"I..... keenly appreciate your kindness in sending me the publications which you enclose. They are very interesting and show that you are doing a very valuable work in India....I suggest that you should keep the Secretary of the Library Association informed of your activities."

3. *Mr. William Angus, Keeper of the Registers and Records of Scotland.*—"I am happy to assure you that this Department will gladly co-operate and give every assistance to promote the objects of your Historical Records Commission. Among the papers deposited in the Department, the following may be of interest to you:—

Hamilton Bruce Collection including papers which belonged to Professor John Bruce (1745-1826). In the course of a survey which is being undertaken at present in this country from this Department, I should also draw attention to the following item which may throw light on the history of India:—Diary of North Dalrymple afterwards 9th Earl of Stair. Should other item be found in future, I shall communicate them to you....."

4. *Mr. A. S. Collins, Deputy Keeper of Manuscripts, British Museum, London.*—States that he has read the report on post-war organisation of archives with great interest.

5. *C. E. A. Bedwell, Secretary, Society of Comparative Legislation London.*—States that the scheme for reorganisation of archives offices has much interested him. Promises to furnish the Commission with information on archival legislation in other countries.

6. *Dr. L. D. Barnett, Librarian, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.*—"I have read the report with much interest and think that the suggestions contained in them for the preservation of archives, co-ordination of libraries,

and other collections, and training of archivists are very judicious and deserve to be successful. My best wishes are with you in efforts to preserve the records of the past which are of such vast importance for the welfare of the future".

7. *Mrs. R. L. Sauvee, Association of Special Libraries and Information Bureau, London.*—"We were exceedingly interested in the details you have given about the work and aim of the Indian Historical Records Commission as well as in the Report which you so kindly sent. This Report will be the subject of a note in our Information Bulletin which is issued to all our members every month."

8. *M. Edward J. Carter, Counsellor, Libraries and Museum, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.*—"I am interested to have your report on post-war re-organisation of archives offices in India. UNESCO Archives Studies will shortly be developed into an active programme and it is most valuable to us to have in our hands such valuable documents as this particular report, which gives an excellent picture of current archival work in India".

9. *M. Michel Lheritiez, Secretary, Comite International Des Sciences Historiques Paris.*—Finds the Report exceedingly interesting and offers all co-operation in the work.

10. *M. Charles Petit-Dutaillis, Member, Institute de France, Paris.*—States that he has read with deep interest the report on re-organisation of archives offices and suggests that the Commission should establish cultural contact with the Ecoles des Chartes of France.

11. *M. M. Rieunier, Secretary General, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.*—States that he has gone through the report with a great deal of interest. Welcomes the plan for replenishing gaps in Indian archival and manuscripts repositories by means of transcripts from French Collections. Furnishes a list of catalogues relating to Oriental manuscripts deposited in the Bibliotheque.

12. *Archivio di Stato, Rome.*—Congratulate the Commission on the excellent work being done by it.

13. *Herr Asgaut Steinnes, Riksarkivet, Oslo.*—Promises co-operation in the work of filling in the lacunae in Indian repositories. Furnishes a list of interesting Danish archives relating to Chinappa Nayaka and Peter Anker.

14. *Mr. H. I. Bell, Association on the Sub-Committee of the Anglo-American Historical Conferences.*—" (I) write to say with what interest and good will I have read your report and proposal. They seem to be on the right lines and all of them highly desirable. I can understand that conservation is one of your major problems. Here American experience might help you..... I do not know how India is situated with regard to Pre-British records—whether many or only a few survive—but I certainly agree with the note of Mr. S. M. Jaffar that whatever such records exist should be brought within the scope of your activities....".

15. *Professor V. H. Galbraith, Director, Institute of Historical Research, London.*—"I have to thank you not only for your letter of 11 November enclosing the brochure of the Indian Historical Records Commission and Information regarding Diploma Course in Archives Keeping, but also for your most interesting account of the activities of the Records Commission, which will appear in the forthcoming number of our Bulletin.

As one who taught Archives at the London School of Librarianship for twelve years, I am naturally interested in your efforts to stimulate the subject in India. So far as I can judge, you are proceeding on sound lines. I would only venture on one bit of advice. It is that all your archivists should not only have an M.A. degree, but as you so properly say in your memorandum, a degree in History. No amount of specialised training in Archives can make up for a

deficient knowledge of History learnt in a scientific way, whereas a good historical scholar can learn all about Archive keeping in a couple of months. The most important duties of Archivists are to help scholars with their research and to publish as many of the documents they keep as possible. These are scholarly functions and you don't want to waste the time of a good man fooling about learning how to use paste and scissors and so on. In this country we have made the mistake of putting classical-scholars and mathematicians into our Archives departments and the result is there is very little imaginative grasp of the problems especially at the higher levels. In short, you must attract good historical scholars into Archive service.

As to collecting material, transcripts, etc. I see you are very up to date indeed. No doubt the Commission is right to confine its attention to records, but some authority or other ought to be actively scouring India and indeed the world for every sort of information, whether record or chronicle, and the further they go back in time the better.

With regard to the last paragraph of your letter, I am always open for any suggestions which may establish closer contact between our Institute and your Commission. As you say, your experience can only be a profit to us over here and any assistance we can give is always at your disposal."

16. Dr. Solon J. Buck, *The National Archives, Washington*.—"The most interesting part of the volume to me was Appendix F, the "Report on the Post-War Reorganisation of Archives Offices and Historical Researches in India." This is a most significant document and I intend to propose to the editor of *The American Archivist* that it be reprinted therein, either in whole or in part, in order that American Archivists may have an opportunity to know something of the thinking and planning along these lines that is going on in India. I take it for granted that you would have no objection to such reprinting. I also intend to see to it that a note concerning this volume of Proceedings is published in the *American Historical Review*."

APPENDIX B.

PROPOSAL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES ORGANIZATION.

The National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Office of the Archivist

May 2, 1947.

Dr. S. N. Sen,

Director, Imperial Record Department,
New Delhi, India.

My dear colleague :

The time has come, I feel strongly, when our profession should take steps to establish a permanent international archives organization. I am presuming to take the initiative by sending to you and to leading archivists in other countries this letter in which I invite your views, suggestions, and advice so that there may be assembled a body of information and opinion that will be useful in determining what kind of organization is desirable and what shall be the steps taken to bring it into being.

If there were in existence at present any international body that could properly take direct responsibility for promoting these objections, I should be happy to work through it. The matter was laid before the United Nations Educational,

Scientific, and Cultural Organization, and that body at its first General Conference at Paris in December 1946, included the following paragraph in its approved program (mimeographed "Report of Program Commission Adopted by the General Conference," p. 26):

UNESCO should encourage the creation of an international organisation of professional archivists. It will deal, in collaboration with the organisation, with questions of technique and administration, such as the exchange of personnel, the general accessibility of archives, the establishment and exchange of inventories, the reproduction of documents and the exchange of reproductions.

UNESCO has thus recognized the importance of the subject and offered its encouragement. What concrete form this encouragement may take I cannot say at this moment when UNESCO itself is still in the process of organization. I think we can count on the sympathetic interest of officials of that organization, and perhaps, somewhat later, on help of a financial nature, but we must make a start ourselves.

I am inclined to think, furthermore, that it is important that archivists themselves take the initiative in the formation of an international body representative of their interests, so that that body will be an independent organization free to develop its own program and to work for the implementation of that program through UNESCO or through any other appropriate governmental or non-governmental channels, as it may deem advisable. We will want to cooperate with other organizations without there being any danger of being dominated by them.

The Society of American Archivists, of which I have the honour to be the President, is much interested in this subject, and at its last annual meeting in Washington, in October 1946, it adopted the following pertinent resolution:

Whereas, it is desirable that archivists of all countries as quickly as possible reestablish their professional contacts, cooperate in the solution of urgent post-war problems of their profession, exchange experiences, ideas, methods and techniques; and work together more closely for the effective preservation, administration, and utilization of the archival heritage of mankind; and

Whereas, A representative international council is needed to provide a forum where these subjects can be presented and discussed, to provide the machinery through which approved programs and activities can be promoted and implemented, and to provide an organization that can cooperate officially with other organizations, national and international; therefore be it.

Resolved, That the Society of American Archivists urges the creation of such an international archives council, and that it authorizes its President to take such steps on behalf of the Society, and in cooperation with other interested agencies and organizations, as may appear to him to be necessary or desirable to bring about the establishment of such an organization.

At the National Archives in Washington we have also given these questions much thought, and I take the liberty of enclosing with this letter copies of two documents that indicate the direction of our thinking and provide something of a framework for the consideration of these proposals. I hope you can find time to read them. They are entitled:

1. The Archivist's "One World".

2. A proposed Archives Program for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

The "Recommendations" made at the close of the latter document should be ignored. These were obviously premature.

There is attached as Annex. I of this letter a suggested draft statement of the "general purposes" of an international archives organization. This I hope you will freely criticize and revise as you may deem desirable. It is my belief that some such general statement should be agreed upon early, if possible, in order that all might know what purposes we expect such an organization to serve. This statement should be quite distinct from any statement of program, which is something that may vary from time to time and something that the organization itself should be left free to develop later.

Annex. II presents a suggested basis for membership in the organization and representation at the meetings and is intended merely to present this important problem somewhat concretely and to draw forth specific observations. I hope you will comment on it freely.

Annex. III presents the other questions that I hope you will be good enough to answer. I have not provided any blank forms because I want you to feel free to answer the questions at any length. It will be helpful if you will number your answers to correspond with the question number. If that is done, the questions themselves need not be repeated.

The answers to these questions will be helpful in indicating (1) the interest that exists and the cooperation and support that may be expected, (2) the nature of the organization that archivists want to see established, and (3) the next steps to be taken. I am sure that if we are to look for any outside financial assistance, it will be forthcoming only because leading archivists the world over express strong interest and convictions about these matters.

I hope you will find it possible to give this letter prompt attention and that your reply will reach me soon. This letter is sent by air mail, and it will be appreciated if your reply can be transmitted in the same manner.

Sincerely yours,

(Sd.) SOLON J. BUCK,
Archivist of the United States.

Enclosures.

ANNEX. No. I.

Suggested Statement of "General Purposes".

1. To establish, maintain, and strengthen relations among archivists of all lands, and among all archives establishments, administrations, and associations, public or private, wheresoever located.

2. To advance all phases of the professional administration and utilization of archives by providing a forum for the exchange of views, experiences, methods, and techniques.

3. To organize, promote, and coordinate desirable international activities, programs, and projects in the field of archives administration.

4. To cooperate with other organizations in programs that will advance the documentation of human experience and the use of that documentation for the benefit of mankind.

ANNEX. No. II.

Suggested basis of members and representation.

1. Individuals who are professional archivists of accepted standing may become members upon payment of the established annual dues, which will entitle them to attend and participate in all meetings, to receive all publications, and to hold office, but they will have no vote at an international meeting except as delegates officially accredited to that meeting. Individuals distinguished for eminent service in the profession may also be elected at international meetings to honorary membership, in which case they would be exempt from payment of dues. A maximum number who might be elected at any one meeting should be established.

2. Archival agencies, institutions, establishments, and administrations whether governmental, ecclesiastical, semi-public or private, may be admitted as institutional members upon payment of the established annual dues (to be somewhat higher than for individuals) and will be entitled to receive all publications and to send one delegate each, officially accredited, to each international meeting.

3. Associations and organizations of archivists established on a national or international (regional) basis may become associational members upon payment of the established annual dues, and will be entitled to receive all publications to send two delegates officially accredited, to each international meeting.

(The establishment of standards for membership in the several classes, and the passing upon applicants would, of course, be vested by the Constitution in the proper bodies or officials of the organization.)

ANNEX. No. III.

General Questions.

1. Do you believe an international archives organization should be established?

2. Are you in favour of immediate steps being taken to establish such an organization?

3. What should be the basis of membership and representation? Should it be an organization of individuals? of institutions (archives establishments, agencies, and administrations)? or associations of archivists? or some combination? (See Annex. II for one suggestion).

4. Should it be associated in any formal way with national governments? with existing international organizations?

5. What should be the nature of its governing body?

6. Should it try to have a permanent headquarters and a permanent secretariat?

7. What would be an appropriate name for the organization? ("International Archives Council" has been suggested.)

8. Have you any suggestions for programs and activities in addition to those mentioned under "Present Day Needs" (Section III) in the document entitled "A Proposed Archives Program for the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization"?

9. Provided suitable arrangements can be made, would you favour the holding of an International Archives Congress, a major purpose of which would be the adoption of a constitution and the formal establishment of a permanent international archives organization?

10. Should such a Congress be held in the Eastern Hemisphere or in the Western Hemisphere? What particular place or country would you suggest?

11. Have you any suggestions for financing such a Congress? Should the expenses of delegates be paid by the Congress or by the institutions or associations they represent? Should individuals be invited to attend and participate at their own expense?

12. Would you approve the setting up of a Provisional International Committee of Archivists to (1) draft a constitution for the international organization, and (2) arrange for and plan a Congress?

13. How should such a Committee be constituted? On what basis? How many members? By whom chosen?

14. Please name 5 archivists outside your own country whom you would consider suitable members of such a Provisional Committee.

15. Have you any additional suggestions or observations at present?

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, SEPTEMBER 1946.

A proposed archives program for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

I.—THE PROBLEM.

A large part of the documentation of human experience and human relations is to be found only in the unpublished archives of the organizations, governmental and other, that man has created for organized living.

A special reason for international concern for these bodies of records arises from the fact that, unlike published materials, they do not exist in duplicate. It follows that no one country can possess more than a part of the total archival heritage of mankind—usually the relatively small part that it has itself created. For access to the other parts it must depend upon the co-operation of other countries and the archivists of those countries. Such co-operation is vital to internationalism. Scholarship that feeds upon the archival resources of a single country cannot be otherwise than one-sided and nationalistic. The only antidotes are greater freedom of access to the originals in whatever country they may happen to be and an increase in the making and exchange of photographic facsimiles.

All of this, however, presupposes the preservation and efficient administration of the parts that compose the whole. The loss of an important body of records in any country is a loss to all countries—and it matters little in retrospect whether that loss be caused by an atomic bomb, unintelligent handling, or mere neglect. Archives because they are not ordinarily duplicated, are especially vulnerable. Their defence in these difficult times will hardly be possible without the full and frank sharing of ideas, methods, equipment, and techniques among the archivists of all lands. Channels to facilitate that exchange were being created before the last war, but, despite a greater need, are not now functioning. A review of these pre-war efforts at co-operation will help in understanding the possible responsibility and role of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization in this field.

II.—BACKGROUND CONSIDERATIONS.

The first and only international Congress of Archivists and Librarians was held in Brussels in 1910. Dr. Waldo G. Leland, who attended, has stated that this Congress "permanently influenced archival conceptions and practices in the United States". It had a comparable influence in many other countries, and its papers and discussions, printed in a volume of over 800 pages, are still recommended reading for students of archival administration. A permanent committee was set up to plan further international congress of this type every five years, but the first World War prevented a second meeting on schedule. Subsequently the librarians withdrew from the committee, which then continued in existence only to represent the archivists. Plans were several times made for an international congress of archivists, the last time for one to be held in Italy in 1935, but it was not possible to bring any of these to fruition.

Attention was also given to archives in the quinquennial Congresses of Historical Sciences (Rome, 1903; Berlin, 1908; London, 1913; Brussels, 1923; Oslo, 1928; Warsaw, 1933; and Zurich, 1938). Usually one of the dozen or more sections was assigned to Archives or to Archives and the auxiliary sciences. It must be admitted that it was only as one of the auxiliary sciences of history that archives were considered in most of these meetings. The Brussels Conference of 1923 established the permanent International Committee of Historical Sciences, which in turn, in 1929, created a Commission on Archives, which met annually for a number of years thereafter. The proceedings of this Commission and the results of its inquiries are to be found in the *Bulletins* of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. This Commission collected much useful information on archival holdings and regulations governing access to them in various countries, but its interests have always been those of the user and not those of the administrator of archives.

A third effort at international co-operation among archivists was represented by the Technical Committee of Archivists set up in 1931 by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, the operating agency of the League of Nations' International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation. This was to be a sort of advisory board of archival experts from different countries, which was to meet annually to draw up resolutions and plans for presentation to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. Its membership was limited to 9, and a tie-in with the older organizations was provided by the stipulation that one member was to be a member of the Commission on Archives of the International Committee of Historical Sciences and one a member of the old "permanent committee" that has continued after the Brussels Conference of 1910. This Technical Committee of Archivists was interested in all phases of archival activity and administration. It studied such questions as the international exchange of photographic facsimiles, the standardization of archival terminology, the durability of modern types of records, and the archivists' concern with motion picture film. It prepared and published the *Guide International des Archives* (1934), which covered archival institutions in Europe. A proposed second volume to cover those of the rest of the world was never published. It was a very active committee for all too short a period. The fate of this committee is bound up with that of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and probably lies now in the hands of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Another international organisation that has given much attention to archives as an important phase of the larger subject of documentation is the International Federation for Documentation, an organization that goes back in its origins to the founding in 1895 of the old International Institute of Bibliography. The

change in name in 1930 to International Federation for Documentation is indicative of its widening interests. This organization will hold its first post-war meeting in Paris, November 4—9, and its activities and interests will presumably, in some way, have to be tied into those of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization unless it is to continue in competition in many fields of common interest.

All of these organizations are an expression of the rising desires and needs of archivists before the last war for closer international collaboration. The war itself has given rise to additional needs for common effort. Some of them critical indeed and the movement for closer cultural co-operation in the interests of permanent peace brings forth still other considerations that are pertinent to that goal.

III. PRESENT DAY NEEDS.

Archivists of all countries need to unite in consideration of the following major present day problems of the professions.

1. *The Preservation of the Archives of International Government.*—Included in this category are the archives of the United Nations and affiliated organizations, of the international organizations that the United Nations has displaced or absorbed in whole or in part, of temporary international war and reconstruction agencies, and of international congresses, conferences, and commissions. Relations between national archival administrations are no longer to be considered alone, but must be related to and integrated with the international structure in the interests of preserving the whole record. Understanding must be reached as to areas to possible overlapping and likewise as to areas for which no archival administration exists to assume responsibility.

2. *Rehabilitation of War-Damaged Archives.*—This includes the reorganization of archival administrations, the rehabilitation of damaged buildings or the construction of new ones, and the restoration and rehabilitation of archival holdings. Much of this work must be done by national and local governments, but, in so far as international co-operation and action toward this end is desirable and practicable, it should be organized preferably through channels that the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization can provide. There must at the very least be assistance in the exchange of information, technical and otherwise, that will permit this reconstruction to be modern in character.

3. *The Defence of Archives Against the Destructive Agents of Modern Warfare.*—Studies should be made of losses of buildings and archives in the last war to work out, in time to be of value in this reconstruction, principles of sounder building construction, principles of emergency evacuation and other principles of protection against the hazards of war, including plans for making and preserving insurance copies of important archival holdings. There should be study also of the organized efforts of the armies of belligerent nations in the last war to protect the archives of occupied and enemy countries with a view to making more effective plans for such programs in case of future wars.

4. *Archives in the International Peace Settlements.*—Knotty archival problems arise in connection with changes of sovereignty, some of which are capable of causing serious international friction. These problems will be complicated by (1) changes in location and custody that have taken place, and (2) destruction of significant material during the war. It usually requires the patient co-operation of archivists over a period of years to work out detailed solutions to problems that are rarely covered completely by clauses in peace treaties and perhaps cannot be covered therein any adequate fashion.

5. *Problems of Dealing with Modern Records in Bulk.*—Archivists in all countries are now facing these problems, and the exchange of ideas, policies, techniques, and administrative experience in this field is vitally necessary if modern and recent records are to be properly handled.

6. *Handling Modern Types of Records.*—This is another area in which exchange of views and experience is seriously needed. Where do photographs, motion pictures and sound recordings fit into the archival picture, and what special facilities, equipment, and techniques are necessary for handling and preserving them? Archivists have not yet mastered the problems of preserving typescript and carbons nor the records produced by other modern methods of mechanical reproduction.

7. *Photographic Reproduction of Records.*—This is one of the most important and most rapidly changing fields of interest to archivists the world over. Its importance as a means of insurance has been mentioned. It is important also in connection with the problem of reducing bulk and of making records more widely available for use.

This field particularly archivists must keep up with advances and developments in cognate fields of documentation and work closely with leaders in those fields in developing and adapting new techniques.

8. *Promotion of a Definite Program of International Exchange of Photographic Facsimiles.*—Such a program should cover gradually but systematically all important records and series of records in the interests (1) of a broader scholarship and (2) the preservation of the contents of such records should the originals ever be destroyed.

9. *Promotion of Uniform Archival Terminology.*—The need for agreement in the use of archival terms has been noticeable in all international conferences of archivists and in all efforts to translate important archival literature. It should begin perhaps in an attempt to secure a dictionary of archival equivalents in the more important languages of the world, which would be a very useful working tool.

10. *Promotion of More General Agreement as to the Most Effective Finding Aids to Research in Archives.*—This means study and tentative agreement at least as to the place of general guides, inventories, catalogs, indexes, and the like, in archival economy and the relative priority they should have in the program of an individual institution.

11. *Co-operation in the Training of Archivists.*—The provision of better facilities for the training of archivists and archival technicians should be studied and encouraged. This should include the institution of channels for the international exchange of leaders and teachers and also for the international exchange of students.

12. *Co-operation in the preparation of the International Guide and Similar Undertakings International in Scope.*—An up-to-date guide covering not only European Archival institutions but those of the entire world is one of the most necessary post-war undertakings of the profession, and can only be performed under the auspices of an international agency that can take the place of the old International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. A consolidated list of important archival losses of the war has also been suggested.

Many other areas of co-operation on the international level between archivists might be suggested and perhaps will be suggested. The important consideration at this time is the provision of a forum where these subjects can be presented and discussed and of a permanent office to serve as a centre for the exchange of information and for the implementation of plans that have been approved and adopted. It is believed that in the future these must be provided by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and that there should be conscious recognition of this fact in the organization of that agency.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS.

A. That the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization at its November Paris meeting take the necessary formal steps to call and hold at the earliest possible time, preferably in 1947, an Internal Congress of Archivists, at which leading archivists of the world can again renew their professional contacts, consider the emergence problems of their profession, and prepare specific recommendations to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization for a permanent international program relating to archives.

B. That the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization at its November Paris meeting set up a provisional International Committee of Archivists to plan the agenda for the International Congress and to guide the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization activities with respect to archives in the interim, this International Committee to be reconstituted at the International Congress and made a permanent liaison agency between archivists and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

C. That the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization provided at its Paris meeting for a small but permanent unit in its regular organization to have responsibility for archives the head of which shall be the permanent Executive Secretary of the International Committee of Archivists. This unit should be part of a larger unit or section to have responsibility for all aspects of documentation, including libraries, bibliography, publications, museums, and cognate fields of activity.

(Sd) SOLON J. BUCK,
Archivist of the United States.

No. F. 15-3/47-C.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
IMPERIAL RECORD DEPARTMENT.

New Delhi, the 28th May 1947.

Dear Dr. Buck,

Kindly excuse me for not answering your very important enquiry earlier. I was away on leave and on resuming duties had to proceed immediately to Simla on official business. While there I had an opportunity of discussing this subject with Sir John Sargent, Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Education, who represented India on the UNESCO and attended its last meeting at Paris. Sir John assured me that your proposal will have the official support of India if the new organization is affiliated to the UNESCO.

Annexures 1 and 2 of your letter might have caused some misapprehension on this point as an international organization is ordinarily open to persons, institutions and associations of all nations. But if I have understood properly your very interesting paper, The ARCHIVISTS ONE WORLD, membership will for the present be limited to Countries now associated with the UNO. India having unequivocally identified herself with the UNO and UNESCO cannot logically co-operate with such other nations as are still outside those two organisations. Of course both the UNO and the UNESCO are expected in course of time to throw their doors open to non-participating or excluded countries like Germany and Spain. Until that day however, I believe the membership of the International Archives Council should necessarily be limited to the member countries of the UNESCO. (1) Both as a professional archivist and an Indian I endorse your proposal regarding an international archives organisation most heartily. Indian students have to go to other lands in search of source materials for the history of their own country and only a small proportion of records relating to

the 18th and 19th century India are available here. But the great bulk of them is to be found in England, France, Portugal, Holland, Denmark and Italy (The Vatican Library) and India is likely to profit most from the proposed organisation. (2) The sooner therefore steps are taken to establish such an organisation the better for this country. (3) The membership of such an organisation should not be limited to institutions alone but should be extended to individual archivists as well. I am in complete accord with the suggestion made in Annexure II. Individual Archivists, Archives Offices and regional associations should all be permitted to associate themselves with this organisation. (4) It should be affiliated with the UNESCO and this will automatically ensure the support of the national governments though they may have no formal association with the Council. The value of the moral and the financial backing of the national governments cannot be discounted though their political domination may be undesirable. In Asiatic countries however non-government Archives Offices are for all practical purposes non-existent and the participation of these Archival institutions cannot be effective without official approval. (5) The Utility of the organisation will depend largely on the efficiency of the governing body which need not be very large. Its membership need not exceed 20, 15 of whom should be elected and the remaining five co-opted by the members elected. Although the participating countries should not claim representation on a territorial or national basis and distinguished archivists should be returned to the Governing Body in their personal capacity it is desirable that different regions should not as far as consistent with the above principle go unrepresented. (6) The Council if it is to function properly must have a permanent headquarter and a permanent Secretariat. For obvious reasons, it is desirable that its headquarters should be located near that of the U.N.O. (7) The name suggested is in my opinion quite appropriate and (8) I have no suggestion at present to offer about its programmes and activities in addition to those already made in the papers circulated. (9) It is desirable to hold an International Archives Congress as it would offer the much needed forum for an exchange of opinion and formulation of schemes; and (10) The venue of the first Congress should be in U.S.A., preferably Washington, from where the proposal has emanated. (11) The Congress will meet in different years in different countries and the general expenses should be met by the hosts but the expenses of delegates should be paid by the Institutions or associations they represent. If any individual archivist be specially invited to participate in the deliberations of the Congress on account of the special distinction that he or she may enjoy, it is but in the fitness of things that his or her expenses should be paid by the hosts. (12) A provisional International Committee of Archivists, if appointed, will certainly expedite the preliminary work and the work of the Congress will be considerably simplified if it has a draft constitution before it. (13) Such a Committee must be of an *ad hoc* character and may be nominated by the Society of American Archivists in consultation with similar societies in England, France and Russia. The membership of the provisional Committee need not exceed 12. The initiative in this matter may be taken by the President of the American Society. (14) (i) Dr. Solon J. Buck. (ii) Mr. Hilary Jenkinson. (iii) M. Charles Samaran. (iv) Dr. Ernst Posner. (v) M. Maksakoff of Central State Archives, USSR. (15) No.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) S. N. SEN.

To

Dr. Solon J. Buck,

Archivist of the U. S. A.,

The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

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APPENDIX C.

CONSTITUTION OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION AS AMENDED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AFTER THE PARTITION OF INDIA.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION.

RESOLUTION.

New Delhi, the 20th November 1947

No. F. 92-20/47-E.I.—The Indian Historical Records Commission was set up in the late Education, Health and Lands Department, Resolution No. F. 92-9/40-E. of the 16th September, 1941. In view of the recent constitutional changes, it has been considered necessary to revise slightly the constitution of the Commission set forth in 1941. The Commission shall in future consist of the following three categories of members:—

(A) Ordinary Members:—

- (i) The Hon'ble Minister of Education, Government of India, *Ex-officio* President.
- (ii) Not more than five experts appointed by the Government of India, on account of their specialised knowledge of the treatment of archives or their contribution to Indo British History.
- (iii) One nominee each of such Provincial Governments of the Dominion of India and States acceding to the Dominion of India as may have organised record rooms.
- (iv) The Director of Archives, Government of India, *Ex-Officio* Secretary.

(B) Corresponding Members:—

The selection of member in this category will be confined to persons directly interested in records, only published work of sufficient merit being accepted as satisfactory evidence of such interest. It is intended that their number should eventually be limited to 40, excluding persons residing out of the Dominion of India. Corresponding members will have the option of attending the public meetings of the Commission and may, by special invitation, participate in the deliberations of the Members' meetings. They will, however, be expected to bear their own expenses.

(C) Associate Members:—

All members of the Research and Publication Committee mentioned hereafter will have the status of Associate Members. They will be entitled to attend the members' meetings and will enjoy the rights of the Ordinary Members.

2. The Commission will have the following two adjuncts:—

(1) A Research and Publication Committee.

The duties of this Committee will briefly be to further the research activities of the Record Offices of the Central and Provincial Governments of the Dominion of India and States acceding to the Dominion of India and to undertake or to promote regional surveys for bringing manuscript records in private custody to public notice as well as to suggest ways and means for their preservation and publication whenever necessary. The composition of this Committee will be as follows:—

- (a) The Educational Adviser to the Government of India, *Ex-officio* Chairman.

- (b) The Experts approved as Ordinary Members of the Commission under para. 1(A) (ii) above.
- (c) One nominee each of such Provincial Governments of the Dominion of India and States acceding to the Dominion of India as may co-operate with the Commission in the publication of Provincial and State Records.
- (d) One nominee each of such learned societies and Universities within the Dominion of India as may co-operate with the Commission in its publication programme and in conducting regional surveys and explorations of archives in the Dominion of India.
- (e) The Director of Archives of the Government of India as *Ex-officio* Secretary.

The Director of Archives, Government of India will also remain the general editor of the Indian Records Series but, whenever necessary, the services of other experts will be utilized to assist in the publication of any particular volume or volumes. The Research and Publication Committee will, especially in the matter of regional surveys need regional co-operation, whether purely official or official and non-official combined. The Government of India trust that Governments of the Provinces of the Dominion of India and the States acceding to the Dominion of India will set up regional organisations constituted according to the special needs of the territories under their control to co-operate with the central organisation on which they will be fully represented.

(2) *A Local Records Sub-Committee.*

The main function of this Sub-Committee will be to advise the Director of Archives, Government of India on such matters connected with the work of the National Archives of India as may be referred to it. It will consist of the following:—

- (a) The Educational Adviser, Government of India, *Ex-officio* Chairman.
- (b) A nominee of the Ministry of States, Government of India.
- (c) A Corresponding or an Associate Member of the Commission ordinarily residing in Delhi Province selected by the Government of India.
- (d) The Director of Archives, Government of India, *Ex-officio* Secretary.

3. The Government of India desire that the nominees of the Provincial Governments of the Dominion of India and the States acceding to the Dominion of India to be appointed as Ordinary Members of the Commission should be their official spokesmen competent to represent their point of view on all questions concerning the Provincial Governments of the Dominion of India or the States acceding to the Dominion of India, as the case may be, in their administrative and financial aspects, and that the nominees of these authorities and of learned societies and Universities within the Dominion of India to be appointed as members of the Research and Publication Committee should be men of academic distinction with a considerable amount of original research work on the British period of Indian History to their credit. This does not exclude the possibility of the same person being selected to represent a Provincial Government of the Dominion of India or a State acceding to the Dominion of India, as the case may be, on both the Commission and the Committee, though a Provincial Government of the Dominion of India or State acceding to the Dominion of India will be at liberty to nominate different persons to serve on the two bodies.

4. The Ordinary Members of the Commission and Members of the Research and Publication Committee (other than *ex-officio* Ordinary Members of the Commission and *ex-officio* members of the Research and Publication Committee), as also all Corresponding Members of the Commission, will be appointed for a term of five years, as follows:—

- (i) all appointments and re-appointments for full term of 5 years will be made *en bloc* with effect from the same date, but on the expiry of their terms the members concerned will be eligible for re-appointment,
- (ii) vacancies due to resignation or otherwise which may occur within the 5 years fixed under clause (i) above will not be filled for a full term of 5 years but only for the unexpired portion of the term of 5 years.

5. The travelling allowance of the *ex-officio* President and Secretary of the Commission, the *ex-officio* Chairman, and Secretary of the Research and Publication Committee and the experts referred to in paragraphs 1(A) (ii) and 2(1) (b) will be a charge on central revenues. The *ex-officio* President and Secretary of the Commission, the *ex-officio* Chairman, and the Secretary of the Research and Publication Committee and any officials appointed as experts under paragraphs 1(A) (ii) and 2(1) (b) will draw travelling allowance as on tour for attending meetings of the Commission or the Committee and the expenditure will be debited to the same head as their pay. Non-officials appointed as experts will draw travelling allowance at first class rates and their daily allowance will ordinarily be Rs. 5/- per diem but in special cases, such as those of persons who are employees of non-official bodies like Universities, *e.g.*, Vice-Chancellors, and who are in receipt of a pay exceeding Rs. 1,000/- per mensem, the amount of daily allowance will be regulated in accordance with Supplementary Rule 51. The expenditure will be met from the budget grant of the National Archives of India. The Provincial Governments of the Dominion of India, the States acceding to the Dominion of India, the Universities and learned Societies within the Dominion of India, concerned will be required to bear the travelling allowances of their nominees serving as Ordinary Members of the Commission or as members of the Research and Publication Committee.

6. Facilities have been provided at the National Archives of India, New Delhi, for training a limited number of students in scientific methods of (i) the storage, preservation and repair of records and (ii) historical research. The Provincial Governments of the Dominion of India, the States acceding to the Dominion of India, Universities and learned Societies within the Dominion of India will, the Government of India hope, avail themselves of these facilities and send suitable persons for such training either at their own expense or at the expense of the persons concerned. When necessary, they may also apply to the Government of India for the services of the Director of Archives, but they will have to bear the travelling allowances of the Director of Archives and any staff accompanying him, if he has to visit any place for this purpose.

Ordered that this Resolution be communicated to all Provincial Governments of the Dominion of India, all the Ministries of the Government of India, and the Director of Archives, Government of India. Ordered also that this Resolution be published in the Gazette of India.

(Sd.) D. M. SEN,

Deputy Secretary.

APPENDIX D.

ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE REGIONAL SURVEY COMMITTEES.

A brief account was given in Vol. XXIII of the I.H.R.C. Proceedings of the activities of some of the Regional Survey Committees set up under the auspices of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Fresh reports have since been received from these as well as a few more committees and significant information contained in them is summarized below:—

Madras.—The Madras Committee has unearthed a number of old *cadjans* written in *Devanagari* and *grantha* characters in the custody of a Brahmin in Sankarnainarkoil, Tinnevely District. Other finds of the Committee include a geneological table of the family of Venkoji Panditar, who was the hereditary keeper of the mint at Tanjore under its Maratha rulers, the records relating to the family written in the Marathi Modi script, and a register of *Srottriya* lands granted to the family. All these records have been acquired by the Committee on loan from their present owner. The Committee has also succeeded in tracing a number of valuable papers relating to the sea-borne trade on the Carnatic coast during the eighteenth and early decades of the nineteenth century in the possession of Mr. Muhammad Ali Marica of Porto Novo. They reveal some important aspects of India's trade with China and Japan during that period. Attempts are also being made through the Assistant Commissioner Hindu Religious Endowments Board for recopying and preserving *Inam* statements recorded by the *Inam* Commissioner.

2. *United Provinces.*—The United Province Regional Survey Committee in order to facilitate its volume of work has set up branches in Agra, Banaras, Allahabad and Aligarh. From the report of the Allahabad Committee it is learnt that examination has been made of a part of the private collections of manuscripts in the possession of Mr. Mohammad Ali and that a valuable manuscript has been purchased and several others examined. A partial survey has also been made of the records in the Commissioner's office, Allahabad. The Committee's finding is that although the records are on the whole well-kept the indexes are unsatisfactory. The records, in the Committee's opinion, throw a flood of light on the conditions of trade, commerce and agriculture in the various districts composing the Allahabad Division, and deserve to be housed in a well-equipped central record office.

To the Aligarh Branch belongs the credit of unearthing two valuable collections of historical manuscripts. The first of these was found in the possession of Mr. Quaiyyum Ali Khan, a descendant of Hazrat Shah Jamal, the saint. It relates mostly to the local history of Aligarh and has been deposited in the Lytton Library, Muslim University, Aligarh. The second collection is owned by Bahu Durga Prasad Mathur who comes of a very old Kavastha family of the locality noted for its connexion with the Mughal administration since the time of Aurangzeb. A catalogue of the collection has been prepared by Dr. A. Halim of the Muslim University and placed before the 24th session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held in Jaipur. Among the most interesting items are: a *farman* of Aurangzeb (1661) granting the village of Lohari in Sharanpur as a free gift; a *farman* of Emperor Shah Alam recording the grant of some lands in Amroha to Nannit Rai, father of Sundarlal, the historian and an officer of the Imperial establishment in Delhi; several *Perwanas* of Mahadaji Sindhia relating to land-grants; a *parwana* of General De Boigne (Shamsher Jang), dated 1790; a *parwana* of Begam Samru containing her seal; and a collection of private letters reminiscent of the early days of the introduction of postage stamps in India. Two very unique items in the collection are: (1) a memoir of Sundarlal containing a comprehensive history of De Boigne and Perton and other European adventures in Sindhia's employ; an account of Aligarh, Muttra and Brindaban; a history of Hindu and Muslim rulers of North India; and an account of the

important forts like those of Shahjahanabad, Agra, Lahore, etc.; and (2) a family journal which was begun by Sundarlal in 1792 and has been continued by his descendants. The last is in the form of a diary, each page recording the events of a particular day. Dr. Halim, who examined both these items, is of the opinion that they contain much that is likely to be of value to the research worker.

3. *Central Province and Berar*.—The Regional Survey Committee of the Province held a general meeting in Nagpur in October 1946, with Dr. P. Basu, Assistant Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission in the Chair. The proceedings were opened by the Hon'ble Mr. S. V. Gokhale, Education Minister, Central Province and Berar. In his presidential address Dr. Basu explained the objectives of the Regional Survey Programme indicated the general lines on which the Committee should begin its work. To facilitate the work of survey the Committee constituted three sub-committees to take charge respectively of the Marathi speaking area, the Hindi speaking area and Berar. The names of the Committee members were published in the Provincial Gazette.

During 1946, Mr. D. G. Landge, a member of the Committee inspected the archives of the Sardars, the Shastris and other influential families in Nagpur and prepared notes on his findings. Mr. L. P. Pandeya undertook tours in the Chhattisgarh division and contacted several old families. Among the materials found by him mention may be made of a few Hindi manuscripts dealing with the history of Chhattisgarh. Dr. Y. K. Deshpande, convener of the Committee discovered a number of historical documents in the possession of the present lineal representatives of the family priest of the Nagpur Rajas. They include documents issued by Raghuji III in connection with the management of the Bhonsla temple at Banaras, an original passport issued by the Nagpur prince to Balambhatta Payagunde the famous commentator on the *Mitakshara*, a copperplate grant issued by a Raja Dip Narayan Simha to a Brahmin about 300 years back in Kayeth characters. Dr. Deshpande also obtained two important historical paintings from the Jade family of Banaras, one depicting the scene of the last battle of Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi with the British forces at Gwalior and the other a portrait of Govindpant Bundele, a hero of the battle of Panipat. In January 1947, Dr. Deshpande contacted the Saoji family at Chikhli, examined its archives and compiled a note on the more important items in the collection. Among other finds of the Committee mention may be made of an old manuscript of the *bakhr* of the celebrated Jadhao family.

4. *Bihar*.—The Bihar Committee reports that it has been able to discover a large number of Persian manuscripts and some specimens of calligraphy among the collections of Muhammad Byed Mahmuddu Haq, Phulwari; Babu Ganesh Prasad Saxena, Diwan Mahalla, Patna city; Hakim Syed Mujahir Ahmad, Patna; Waldf Library at Kujhwa, Saran District; Nawabzada Ali Ibrahim Khan, Husainabad, Gaya District; Nawabzada Syed Muhammad Mehdi of Guzri family, Patna city and Mr. Jawahir Lal Suchanti, Bihar Shariff, Bihar. A number of historical documents and manuscripts of literary works, coins and paintings have also been traced in the possession of Chandradhari Singh of Madhubani (Darbhanga). Among other finds mention may be made of a few Bengali manuscripts discovered in the Santal Parganas. These include an autobiography of a Marathi gentleman and some ballads on the Santal insurrection of 1855-57.

5. *Delhi*.—Sir Arthur Dean, C.I.E., M.C., of the Delhi Improvement Trust brought to the notice of Delhi Regional Survey Committee a very valuable collection of Persian, Arabic and Turkish manuscripts in the possession of Shamsul Ulama Khwaja Hasan Nazami. The Collection comprises of 240 manuscripts books in diverse subjects, such as, history, religion, philosophy, chemistry, geography, mathematics etc. The Committee was interested only

in three books e.g. (i) *Shahjahan Nama* by Bahadar Singh dated 1279 A.H. (1862 A.D.) (ii) *Towarikh-i-Sorath* by Ranchoraji on the history of Kathiawar, especially Junagadh, dated 1892 Sambat (1832 A.D.) and, (iii) A comprehensive account of the invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali. The Committee has undertaken the transcription of these manuscripts and the expenses in this connection would be met from the financial grant received from the Government of India for the year 1946-47.

6. *Baroda*.—In November 1945 a circular was published in the State gazette appealing to the public to extend its co-operation to the Regional Survey Committee set up by the Baroda Government by apprising them of any historically important objects they might come across. In December a good number of Persian, Marathi and Gujarati documents were traced by Professor Kemdar and Dr. Majumdar in the possession of Indulal Majumdar. The documents ranged from the reign of Emperor Farrukhsiyar (1714-1719) to the time of Khanderao Gaekwad (1870). Interesting items in the collection include a deed of agreement regarding the boundary dispute of village Aehidhara, dated 1760 (V.S. 1827), an order dated 1738 (V.S. 1795) from Maharaja Damajirao Gaekwad to Patel Modho of Sinor, and a letter giving account of the disturbances in Gwalior written by Munshi Balwantrao to Maktaji Bhagubhai of Baroda. The collection was also examined by Professor Joshi who made a selection of Modi documents.

Mr. Manilal Drivedi a member of the Committee unearthed four interesting documents in the Navasari District, one of them recording the sale of a slave by a local Desai family. Two of his colleagues Messrs. Kamdar and Majumdar visited Dwarka and Beyt and made a list of unofficial records locally available. Some interesting papers were found in collection of the pujari (priest) of Prabhaspatan in Kathiawar. They include a letter from Gopalrao Mairal to Gajanan Aba of Prabhaspatan in Kodinar requesting the latter not to impose any tax on the cultivators of Samskhan Jalakeswar Mahadeo of Prabhas and an order from Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar regarding the maintenance of the temple of Aghoreswar Mahadeo.

At Kodinar Messrs. Kamdar and Majumdar came across a number of valuable documents among the private archives of Sheth Vithaldas Mathurdas, a descendant of Devkaran Vithal who had assisted the Baroda Government in suppressing the Vagher disturbances of 1849. The documents include several orders of Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar granting Devkaran certain rewards for the services rendered by him. The party also inspected the private archives of Mr. Mondhe the priest at Somnath Patna.

The future programme of the Baroda Committee includes further exploration of private archives in Navasari and Melsana districts, and the acquisition of the historical records owned by the family of Raoji Appaji and Balaji Appaji. These records are believed to contain valuable materials relating to Maratha history.

7. *Kalahandi*.—The Regional Survey Committee for the Kalahandi State did some useful work during the year in collaboration with the Archaeological Department of the State. The Committee acquired and studied some old records in Hindi relating to the Naga Royal family of Chholanagar, of which the ruling Naga Dynasty of Kalahandi is a branch. It also studied 21 palm leaf manuscripts written in old Oriya scripts which had some historical significance for the State. The Committee also examined some stone inscriptions ranging from the 8th to the 12th century A.D. which throw considerable light on the previous history of the state both historical and cultural.

APPENDIX E.

INSPECTION REPORTS OF THE DIRECTOR OF ARCHIVES ON THE RECORDS OF THE INDIAN STATES, THE RESIDENCY RECORDS AND THE CENTRAL RECORDS IN THE PROVINCIAL CUSTODY.

Mysore (January, 1942).

The Honourable the Resident in Mysore in his letter No. R.F. 412-41[Pol, dated the 4th December 1941 enquired of the Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative, whether the Government of India could allow me their Keeper of records to inspect the Secretariat record rooms of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore who were anxious to improve upon their existing system of preservation and maintenance of records. The Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative in his letter No. D-3784-G/41 dated the 5th January 1942 communicated the necessary sanction of the Government of India for me to inspect the records referred to above. On my way back from the eighteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Mysore in January 1942, I stopped at Bangalore for two days the 26th and the 27th January and visited the record room of the (1) Secretariat as well as the (2) Land Revenue Survey Office and (3) District and Taluka Record Offices. I verbally communicated my suggestions to Rajasevaprakashta B.T. Kesava Iyengar Esq., B.A. the Chief Secretary to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore who was keenly interested in the subject and gave me all the necessary facilities. I was taken round the record room by the Assistant Secretary and the Registrar of the Secretariat and they helped me in every way to carry on my inspection there.

2. The Mysore Government are anxious to reorganise their record office at Bangalore and I hope my suggestions and criticisms will be taken in the spirit in which they are offered. The Chief Secretary prepared an excellent set of rules as early as 1930 for the guidance of the District and sub-divisional record keepers and two of these record offices located at Bangalore leave very little to be desired. There are excellent arrangements for cross and vertical ventilation, the rooms are well lighted, the bundles are kept in single rows and the only suggestion I have to make is that the size of the bundles may be reduced to more convenient proportions. The oldest papers in these record rooms have been damaged to a certain extent by insect pests but when the central record office is reorganised and brought up to the modern standard, arrangements may be made there for the periodical fumigation of such manuscript records in the District and Taluka offices as may require such treatment. The bundles and shelves in the District and sub-divisional record rooms are regularly cleaned and dusted. Conditions prevailing in the Land Revenue Survey Office are also fairly satisfactory but unfortunately things are quite different in the Secretariat itself. The muniment rooms, are semi-dark and ill-ventilated and the steel shelves, costly as they are obstruct light and air and contribute not a little to the deterioration of the records. Some of the records have been for safe custody kept in steel safes. The bundles are loosely made and heaped pell-mell on one another subjecting the papers at the bottom to an excessive permanent pressure caused by an unduly heavy load. For years the bundles have not been dusted, nor have the shelves been cleaned as there is no regular staff for this purpose. The rooms themselves are infested by vermins and on the top most shelves were found a large mass of droppings of rats and bats. The ink is good, the writing in most cases legible, the paper is strong and should with ordinary care last for years but the method of preservation can best be described as primitive. The records have,

it is true, suffered from insect and other pests but the damages so far done are not beyond repair. Some records have suffered from mildew caused by damp but their health can be easily restored by thymol fumigation. I am, therefore, of opinion that the Government of Mysore can organise an excellent record office which will serve the ordinary requirements of the administration and at the same time cater to the needs of the research students.

3. This raises an important question of policy. So far the Mysore Government have not thrown open their records to the *bona-fide* research students but it will be in the footsteps of the Government of India who have in this respect given an excellent lead to the provincial and states governments. The Indian Historical Records Commission have more than once voiced the feelings of their constituents and requested the Indian States through the Government of India to permit *bona-fide* research workers access to their archives. In Mysore there is no lack of local talents. Excellent monographs have been published on the administration of Sir Mark Cubban and Sir Thomas Munro and no less than seven papers came from Mysore scholars at the last session of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Young investigators should be given all possible encouragement and the least that the Government of Mysore can do is to grant the state subjects the same facilities as are available to their compatriots and colleagues residing in British India. I believe the Mysore Government can go a step further.

4. The record offices, as they are now constituted in India, deal with Government records alone. They are not authorised to take charge of private archives even if the owners volunteer to transfer their custody for the benefit of the research students. This is a problem which the Government of India and the provincial governments will have to solve sooner or later. There is no reason why the Government of Mysore should not give them the necessary lead. The monasteries and temples of Mysore have a rich store of valuable historical records and so far as my information goes their archives are much older than those of the State. The aristocratic families of Mysore may also have in their possession equally old and valuable manuscripts. It is common knowledge that private archives seldom receive from their legal custodians the same care and attention as official records. Sometimes the owner is blissfully unaware of the historical value of his family papers. It will be therefore a real service to the cause of historical learning if the Mysore Government can see their way to collect the private archives in the state and provide for their housing and preservation at a convenient centre. Of course the sentiments of the present owners will have to be respected in every way while framing the necessary rules for regulating public access to these records. Such records in the custody of the District and Taluka offices as may be of purely historical interest and without any administrative utility may also be sorted out and transferred to the Central Record Office at Bangalore where better facilities will be available for their repair and preservation. Unless there is any serious administrative difficulty all the record offices located at Bangalore may be amalgamated to ensure unity of control and avoid divergence of policy.

I shall next proceed to the question of housing. The present muniment rooms are exceedingly unsuitable for storing records both on account of structural defect and limited accommodation. They are dark and damp and the shelves go right up to the ceiling. "A muniment room should be airy and well lighted and there should be ample space between the top most shelf and the ceiling and at the same time sufficient room should be left for future expansion. While light and air are essentially necessary for the health of old papers direct exposure to sun is positively harmful. The building should therefore be so planned (Annexure I) as to admit plenty of light and air in

the muniment rooms without exposing the shelves and the bundles and bound volumes stacked there on to sun and draught. The shelves should be within easy reach of the cleaning staff. Bangalore has a temperate climate and the variation between the summer and winter temperature is I believe not very high. What the relative humidity is I do not know. These essential data will have to be collected before it can be decided whether an air conditioned building with devices for filtering the air current and maintaining a uniform relative humidity and temperature will be needed. The building must in any case be provided with an automatic sprinkler system as a protection against fire. Since the accidental bursting of a sprinkler-head may cause considerable damage to records if it remains undetected for some time, the sprinkler system should be divided into small sections and fitted up with devices to raise separate alarms to indicate at once the section which has been affected.

As for the shelves enamelled steel shelves will prove quite suitable to the climatic condition of Bangalore but as Mysore is very rich in timber, seasoned teak wood may also be used as an alternative material. Care will have to be taken in every case to provide for vertical ventilation. In the District and Taluka Record rooms teak bars have been used instead of teak planking but there should not be too wide a gap between two bars as the load will not in that case be equally distributed and the bundle will sag. The bundles should not be vertically stacked if the shelves are made of bars. Whatever may be selected the material, steel or teak, the racks should be completely isolated from the floor to safeguard the papers from the depredations of termites or white ants if these pests are present in any number at the locality. Though both steel and teak are immune from termites they offer no protection to less disagreeable materials stacked on the shelves because the pests creep along the posts and the bars until the bundles and volumes are reached. Rounding off of the wall and floor proves of little use as some species of termites are known to have tunnelled through brick masonry wall and to have appeared at unexpected places. It is therefore desirable to isolate the racks from the floor by means of steel sancers of a convenient size filled with a mixture of kerosene and creosote. As this mixture is inflammable, proper precautions against an outbreak of fire should be taken. If the shelves are made of teak wood the bars may further be soaked with raw creosote but care should be taken not to restore the bundles or the volume on the shelves until they are completely dried. But as teak wood is liable to be attacked by fungi, I should prefer steel to take as the most suitable material for racks and shelves.

It is desirable that the Building should be provided with a bomb and fire proof underground vault to safeguard the more valuable records from the probable consequences of air raid in time of war. This vault should be artificially ventilated and provided with the necessary shelf accommodation. Even in peace times the vault may serve as a safe depository for the more important documents now kept in the iron safes.

It is understood that the Secretariat Record Room has at present about 20,000 bundles and bound volumes of printed and manuscript records. These are in varying states of preservation. The great bulk of the archives belongs to the 19th century and the money spent on steel shelves and safes amply testifies to the anxiety of the Mysore Government to provide adequately for their preservation. Unfortunately the present staff is numerically insufficient and technically ill-equipped for the task. The records are naturally of different sizes and the large sheets have been folded and refolded to reduce them to a convenient dimension. The folded papers have been tied with hard twine and an indefinite number of them has been made into a bundle which is again tied with a piece of rag. With a view to utilise every inch of the available shelf

space, which is obviously insufficient, the bundles have been stacked one on the top of another. This primitive method leads to quick deterioration of paper. Old papers are liable to break along the folds and the risk is further enhanced when one bundle is placed upon another by increasing the permanent pressure to which the lowest bundle is subjected. It is therefore no wonder that many of the papers have already gone to pieces and others are steadily undergoing the process of decay. Remedial measures are therefore immediately called for.

Flattening of the folded papers would have sufficed for the preservation of the records if they had been otherwise undamaged. But insect pests had been long at work and the papers have been also affected by mildew. They should therefore be adequately fumigated, before they are flattened and repaired. Against mildew spores thymol fumigation in an ordinary cabinet by means of electrical heating provides sufficient remedy but thymol vapour causes little harm to the insect pests. More efficacious in the latter respect is Paradichlorobenzene which sublimates of itself in a closed chamber or box. Paradichlorobenzene is, however, slightly injurious to human beings and should not be used except in an air-tight cabinet. Its action is slow and the bundles and bound volumes will have to be exposed to paradichlorobenzene fumes at least for ten days when the temperature is favourable if the adult insects are to be exterminated. When the temperature is very low the insects are sometimes so inert as to acquire considerable immunity from the effects of the lethal vapour. Paradichlorobenzene moreover has no effect on the eggs protected as they are by a thin shell. Moreover they are usually laid in tiny tunnels bored in the binding material where the vapour is not likely to penetrate under ordinary conditions. More quick and efficacious is fumigation in a vacuum chamber with a mixture of carbon dioxide and ethylene oxide. The gas is lethal to all insects and under the vacuum quickly penetrates to every corner and interstice, the eggshell bursts under the external vacuum and the eggs are destroyed and three hours' exposure is all that is wanted. It has no deleterious effect on paper old and new. As records will have to be fumigated once every year it is for the Government of Mysore to decide whether they will provide for the infinitely slower and less effective paradichlorobenzene fumigation or install a vacuum chamber with an initial expenditure of 10,000 rupees which however will prove more economic in the long run if all the advantages are taken into consideration. I may add here that the experts of the British Records Association who are usually inclined to take a conservative view of things have at last admitted the superior advantages of vacuum fumigation (Annexure II).

Next comes the question of repair. At present crumbling documents are usually laminated with Japanese tissue paper or very thin natural silk gauzes popularly called chiffon for strengthening them. Of the two, Japanese tissue paper is less strong and less expensive, but in repairing old records not only permanency but also transparency is aimed at Japanese tissue papers quickly get opaque and have to be removed. The process of removal is tedious and requires both time and expert handling. The more expensive chiffon however gives much greater satisfaction in this respect. In spite of the deleterious action of the acid in the atmosphere on the silk fabric it is good for twenty to twenty-five years and when wetted easily comes off in a nice roll. The adhesive used in both cases is dextrine paste (Annexure III) with the usual quantity of white arsenic to keep off the destructive insects. It is however necessary to note that the poison is of doubtful utility. It has an undesirable reaction on the cellulose in the paper repaired and it may be released before long by a minute fungus. The latest method of lamination (Annexure IV) with cellulose acetate foil eliminates altogether the necessity of any adhesive and protects the paper harmatically enclosed within two thin sheets of cellulose acetate foil from insects as well as the reaction of the atmosphere.

The comparative merits and demerits of these three methods and materials have been discussed at some length in a pamphlet issued by the Imperial Record Department and I do not propose to repeat my arguments here. It should however be noted that any of these repairing materials (Annexure V) may not be available in the market during the present war in large quantities and all but the most urgent repairs may have to be postponed for the present.

When the papers are flattened, fumigated and repaired they may be made into fresh bundles or if their size permits guarded with hand made papers and bound into volumes. Before making bundles the documents should be paginated and placed within a docket cover. Numbering and pagination of the papers are essential as otherwise records may be removed from the bundles without any chance of detection. The bundles should be as far as possible of uniform size and should not be more than 10 inches deep. Plywood boards may conveniently be used for making bundles but in view of the abundant supply of teak wood available at a reasonable price in the state teak boards may also be used for this purpose. Teak wood is sufficiently hard and light and has the additional advantage of immunity from insects and termites. A synthetic material (Cane Tempered Hardboard) has recently been tested in the Imperial Record Department Laboratory and found to be free from acidic and alkaline contents. The boards are by virtue of their composition immune from termites and insect pest. They are moreover entirely waterproof and will form a good and cheap substitute for teak and ply-wood board. But the bundles even when vertically placed on the shelf will subject the papers to a certain amount of pressure however slight. A far better arrangement will be to store the records in fibre boxes of the requisite shape and size. A few circular holes may be cut into the bottom and the side of the boxes to facilitate ventilation. Here the size of the papers, unless it is exceptionally big, does not offer any difficulty. It is needless to add that fibre boxes are much more expensive than either teak wood or ply-wood boards and will require a greater shelf place for storage purposes.

When the records are not of a uniform size the following two alternative treatments are suggested. When the writing is on one side only the document may be mounted on thin muslin and rolled like a map or a chart or a document of an inconvenient dimension may be when flattened out along the folds and made into pages of uniform size. Care will have to be taken not to cut very close to the writing. These pages may after guarding with handmade papers be formed into gathers and stitched with a shell-cover as in other cases. But so far as my memory goes the records in the Bangalore Secretariat are not usually of inconvenient sizes and will in most cases lend themselves to binding or bundling.

It is needless to point out that the records will have to be regularly aired and cleaned. Hand cleaning has obvious defects, the dusting staff necessarily consists of uneducated menials who not seldom mishandle the brittle records and unwittingly cause them serious harm. Dusting and cleaning should therefore be made by means of electric vacuum cleaners. A bundle need not be removed from the shelf or opened when the vacuum cleaner is worked but its powerful suction is likely to damage the papers in the bundle if they are not of a uniform size.

The shelves should always be provided in ample quantity with some chemicals of pungent smell disagreeable to the insects. Naphthalene balls are commonly supposed to be one of such effective deterrents. But naphthalene balls are liable to evaporate very quickly and experience in the Imperial Record Department shows that naphthalene blocks serve this purpose better as they last much longer. But the effect of constantly inhaling the vapour of naphthalene on the general health of the record room staff deserves investigation. No

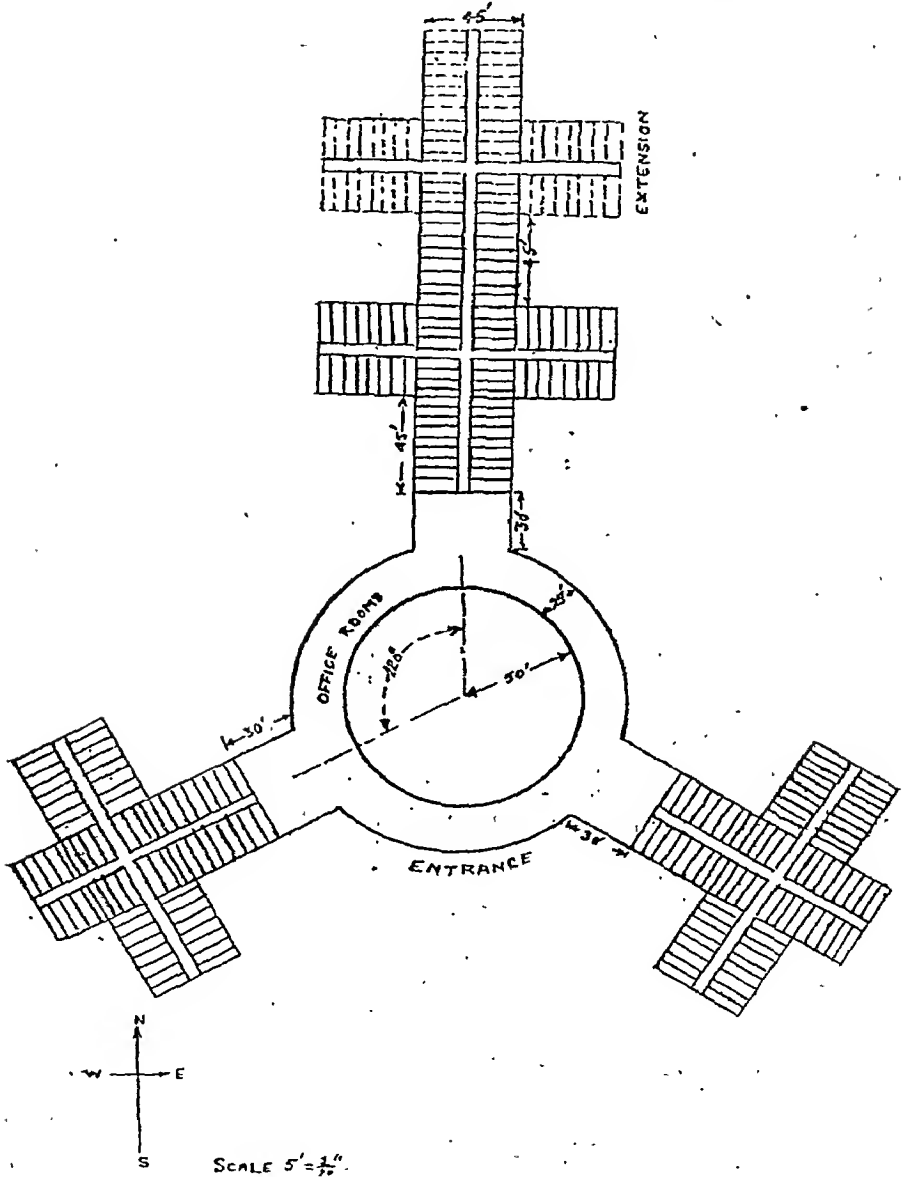
harmful result has hitherto been noticed in our muniment rooms at Delhi. Leather bound volumes should be treated with a leather preservative mixture every two or three years. It is my experience that the preservative mixture retains the quality and the flexibility of leather binding for a longer time and thus accounts for a substantial saving in the cost of rebinding (Annexure VI).

So far I have dealt with the question of preservation and storage. If the Mysore Government decide to throw open their records to the bona-fide research students a handbook will have to be prepared for their guidance and ready reference. But even if the record office is treated as an ordinary adjunct of the Secretariat hand lists and indexes will have to be prepared to facilitate the routine work of supplying requisition and to check from time to time the archives with a view to preventing unauthorised removal and destruction. This inevitably leads to the question of the administrative and the technical staff. At present there is no technical staff and the administrative staff consists of four clerks only. As I have already observed a menial staff will also have to be appointed for regular cleaning of the shelves and the records. As we do not know the exact number of sheets to be flattened, fumigated, repaired and made into bundles it is very difficult to form an accurate estimate of the numerical strength of the necessary staff (Annexure VII). This will be determined not only by the amount of work expected from the staff employed but also by the time by which the work is to be accomplished. I do not think that more than ten per cent of the manuscript records stand in need of major repairs and a trained mender will without much difficulty be able to flatten 1,000 sheets per month under normal conditions. Indexing is however a complicated work demanding special knowledge and technical equipment and the progress will depend much upon the character and the condition of the documents to be indexed. It may not be possible to have the entire staff trained at the outset but a few intelligent hands may be sent to the Imperial Record Department for training in the different branches of preservation and archives administration. Rajsevarasakta Mr. B. T. Keshav Aiyangar recently paid a visit to the Imperial Record Department and will no doubt be able to appreciate the value of such training. As the trainees will in their turn have to train their colleagues on their return to Bangalore short and hurried training of a pre-factory nature will be absolutely useless. I am therefore of opinion that the selected persons should be prepared to work at New Delhi for a minimum period of six months. Although the technical experts of the Imperial Record Department will always be prepared to help their Mysore colleagues whenever a scientific problem is referred to them, at least one of the trainees should be a science graduate competent to follow intelligently the experiments made here and the relevant papers published in Scientific Journals of America and Europe.

To sum up my recommendations are as follows :—

- (1) A Central Record Office should be organised at Bangalore where all the relevant secretariat records should be concentrated. The record office should be authorised to take charge of such private archives as may be transferred to its custody by their legal owners.
- (2) An isolated building should be constructed for the record office on modern lines, provided with modern shelving and fire appliances.
- (3) A person well versed in Indian History after necessary training should be placed in charge of the record office. He should have for one of his Assistants a science graduate trained in the science of archives, repair and preservation.

ANNEXURE I
Building Plan For Mysore Records Office



- (4) A vacuum fumigator should be installed.
- (5) Documents should be fumigated, flattened, paginated, docketed, numbered, (with year and month) and made into bundles.
- (6) Teak wood boards or synthetic tempered hard-boards of suitable size and soft twine should be used for making bundles.
- (7) Records should be dusted and aired at regular intervals.
- (8) At present the most urgent repair work should be done with the repairing materials available in the market. Flattening should be expedited and chemicals recommended should be used.
- (9) A portion of the old records should be thrown open for historical research.
- (10) Research rules should be framed to allow access to the records only to the *bonafide* research scholars.
- (11) Indexing of records should be immediately started with an efficient staff.
- (12) A suitable staff should be appointed for the record office.

ANNEXURE II

FUMIGATION

Thymol Fumigation is being practised in the Imperial Record Department as an immediate preventive measure against mildew whose incidence during moist and warm weather increases rapidly. Thymol vapour certainly checks mildew growth but its effect is not very lasting. In this system of thymol fumigation records are spread over perforated shelves enclosed in a wooden chamber and thymol crystals, placed in a watch glass are made to vaporise from below by applying heat with a view to saturate the closed space with thymol vapour. Records infested with mildew are first cleaned and then fumigated for 24 to 72 hours. The cost of each chamber is about Rs. 50. and that of thymol Rs. 7. per lb. Consumption of thymol per chamber per month is not likely to exceed one pound.

Paradichlorobenzene Fumigation.—Records may also be fumigated with paradichlorobenzene which is a white powder subliming at the ordinary temperature. The fumigation must be done in a closed chamber or a steel box in which records are placed in alternate layers with p-dichlorobenzene dusted on a stretched linen. The cost of each lb. of p-dichlorobenzene is Rs. 1-2-0 only.

Vacuum Fumigation.—The best method of preventing damage to records by insects and fungi is to fumigate them in a vacuum vault. In vacuum fumigation commodities are placed in a gas tight steel chamber and a large proportion of the air is removed and replaced with a gas lethal to insects. It is the most effective remedy hitherto known because the fumigant penetrates into pores and interstices and kills the insects as well as their larvae within a short time. Lack of oxygen renders insects more susceptible to a lethal gas. The bundles which presumably contain brittle records need not be opened, as they have to be during ordinary fumigations. The fumigants are sometimes quite poisonous, but the use of a vacuum fumigation vault makes the detection of any leakage rather easy, so that operators are quite safe.

Hydrocyanic acid, Ethylene chloride, carbontetrachloride, carbon-bisulphide, Ethylene oxidecarbon dioxide, Methyl formate-carbon dioxide—all these fumigants are 100 per cent effective for killing all storage insects within 24 hours and they have no deleterious effect on paper. A fumigation chamber (4½ ft × 5 ft × 11 ft) suitable for the vacuum fumigation of records can be obtained from the Guardite Corporation, Chicago, Illinois, at a cost of \$ 3,600 i.e., Rs. 13,000 including freight charges. The operation of the chamber is easy and inexpensive though this must be done under expert supervision.

ANNEXURE III

DEXTRINE PASTE

The use of an adhesive for repairing work is indispensable. In making a choice we must see that the adhesive does not form a delicious food for insects or a nice medium for the growth of fungi or bacteria. Any adhesive must therefore contain preservatives for the pure starchy material as also insecticide and fungicides for keeping away insects and fungi. Dextrine paste, supplied by the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works may be used for this purpose. Its formula is given below for information.

Dextrine	..	5 lbs.
Water	..	10 lbs.
Oil of cloves	..	1½ ozs.
Saffrol	..	1½ ozs.
White Arsenic	..	2½ ozs.

The paste is poisonous to human beings but there is no danger of handling it.

ANNEXURE IV

NOTE ON PRESERVATION OF RECORDS.

(Not appended)

ANNEXURE V

REPAIRING MATERIALS

Serial No.	Name of materials	Yearly consumption.
1	REPAIRING.— Handmade paper Japanese Tissue paper Chiffon Dextrine Paste	10 reams. 10 reams. 320 yds of 44" width. 600 lbs.
2	PRESERVATIVE.— Leather Preservative mixture Thymol Naphthaline Brick Creosote oil.	84 lbs. 10 lbs. (for one chamber). 1 brick of 1 lb. for every ten running ft. of shelf space.
3	DESCRIPTION OF IMPLEMENTS REQUIRED— Knife scissors needles slicc cups plates multmul trays brush hand press	

ANNEXURE VI

LEATHER PRESERVATIVE

Leather Preservative.—Tanned leather of good quality is a very stable substance but in adverse circumstances it is liable to attack from insects and fungi. The leather may also undergo general deterioration and drying up thus losing its flexibility. The durability and keeping quality of leather can be greatly enhanced by the application of a leather preservative containing waxy substances and insecticides. A formula of dressing for leather book-bindings, which has been developed at the British Museum, London, is given here.

Lanoline, anhydrous	7 oz. (avoir)
Beeswax	$\frac{1}{2}$ oz. (avoir)
Cedarwood oil	1 oz. (fluid)
Haxano	11 oz. (fluid)

The binding should be cleaned with a wet sponge, allowed to dry for two or three days and then the dressing is to be well rubbed in. Next day it should be polished. After some experience it will be seen whether any modifications in this formula are desirable in order to suit the climatic conditions at Poona.

ANNEXURE VII

PROPOSED ESTABLISHMENT

Serial No.	Designation	Qualification	Work	Number of staff.
1	Officer-in-Charge of the Central Records Office.	Must be a scholar in History preferably with a foreign degree and published works.	Administrative head of the Department.	
2	Superintendent ..	M. A. in History ..	Supervision of work of the Assistants and also administrative work.	1
3	Technical Assistant	M. Sc. in Physical Chemistry or Applied Chemistry.	Preservation of records and relevant administrative work.	1
4	First Division Assistants	M.A. in History ..	Indexing and other literary work, also some administrative work.	4
5	Second Division Assistants.	B. A. in History and B.Sc. with Physics and Chemistry.	Do.	6 2
6	Third Division clerks	Matriculates ..	Routine and typing etc.	10
7	Attenders ..	Non-Matrics ..		6
8	Menders ..		Repairing of documents.	12
9	Daftaris ..			8
10	Dusting-bearers			10
			Total ..	61

The Office may be divided into following branches :

1. Research—All work in connection with research and supply of information from records to the Government and the Public.
2. Preservation—All work in connection with the work of preservation of documents.
3. Indexing—Indexing of all records.
4. Supply—Supply of requisitions to all Departments of the Government, Research Scholars etc.
5. General—Building, Library and all other miscellaneous matters.

N.B.—The staff required in connection with the preservation of records should be immediately appointed. The total strength of the staff may be reduced if the Indexing scheme is not given effect immediately.

Rajputana Residency, Mount Abu (October 1944).

I

1. Not much was known about the Residency records at Mount Abu previous to 1943. In that year a series of questions was addressed to all the Residencies in India with a view to eliciting certain information about the historical documents in their custody. It was then discovered that the old manuscript records at the Residency Secretariat, Mount Abu, were not in a good state of preservation. Steps were immediately taken by Hon'ble the Resident for their repair and renovation and an expert Mender was, at his request, deputed from the Imperial Record Department to take up the work. As there is at present a dearth of repairing materials in the market a small stock was lent to the Residency by the Imperial Record Department so that this important work might not suffer further delay. A good start has been made, the period of the deputation of the Imperial Record Department mender has been extended and he is not only repairing the old records but also training four of the Residency daftaris in mending fragile papers with chiffon and tissue paper. The continuity of this useful work is, therefore, well assured.

2. In his D.O. No. F. 16(2)-G/44, dated the 21st August 1944, the Under Secretary, Political Department, informed me that it would be greatly appreciated if I could pay a visit to the headquarters of the Rajputana Agency and see the state of records and give advice for their proper maintenance. Accordingly I went to Abu in the last week of October and inspected the records there from the 25th to the 28th.

3. My observations and suggestions are intended to help the Residency staff and not to disparage their work. It must not be forgotten that there is no one at the Residency Secretariat specially trained to look after records and the clerks and daftaries do not lack in zeal and goodwill though the necessary scientific knowledge and experience may be wanting.

II

4. The records are located in the strong Secretariat Building of the Residency at Abu. The main record room is on the east wing of the ground floor. Some records are kept in a passage (in a wooden almirah) on the first floor and some in an adjacent office room while the remainder, I understand, is in the second floor. In all these rooms sitting accommodation has been provided for the assistants and clerks.

5. The records have not so far been catalogued and the Registrar told me that there is no hand list either. Obviously stock taking in the proper sense is not possible under these circumstances and no loss, if any, can be easily detected. Vernacular records are being at present indexed by a re-employed assistant and the few slips I examined were on the proper lines. His work when completed will remove an urgent need but its progress, as he works single-handed, must necessarily be slow. In the absence of any index it is not easy to locate any old English record when required and the Registrar cited an instance of an agreement which was discovered accidentally after being given up as lost or non-existent. The old records are not needed for day to day work and most of the English correspondence are, I believe, available in the Imperial Record Department either in original or in transcription. But in the absence of any list it is not possible to set apart those records of which no copy is available elsewhere and there is no reason why any loss should not be guarded against. The cataloguing and indexing of the records are, therefore, urgently called for.

6. Two other points may also be mentioned in this connection. Records are usually classified according to their sources. At Abu, however, it has been found more convenient to classify them according to the States with which they are concerned. All manners of information may therefore be found either in the same file or scattered in a number of them. It may not, therefore, be possible for an employee, not intimately familiar with the files, to locate a particular item of information within a given time without an exhaustive index.

7. His Excellency the Crown Representative has been pleased to throw open all Residency records prior to 1881 for purposes of historical research. (Vide Resolution XXI, page 49, part I. I.H.R.C. Procs Vol. XIX). So far no research student has come forward to study any section or series of records in the custody of the Rajputana Agency but the possibility of research scholars claiming this privilege in the near future cannot be entirely ruled out and an index and guide book will prove of great service to them. Rules regulating access to the Residency archives may also be framed in anticipation of the likely demand. (I.R.D. rules may be seen in this connection).

8. The Registrar enquired whether an expert from the Imperial Record Department could be deputed to Abu to undertake the indexing work should it be sanctioned by the requisite authorities. I regret that none from the indexing section can for the present be spared without serious detriment to the work of this Department. On the other hand most of the senior assistants and clerks of the Residency Secretariat, I am told, are due to retire shortly but it will not be possible to make any permanent appointment during the war. This renders the selection of a suitable person for training in the Imperial Record Department peculiarly difficult. The efficiency of the administrative and technical staff of the record room will depend not a little upon the quality of supervision which again will be determined to a great extent by the experience and technical knowledge of the supervising officer. In the interest of the valuable records in the custody of the Residency Secretariat it is expected that some means will be found by the department concerned to circumvent this difficulty. A set of indexing rules is enclosed herewith for use at Abu.

9. Apart from actual loss there is another risk to be avoided that of misplacement of records. If a document is by mistake or design placed in a wrong place it may not be located even after a laborious and prolonged search. Care should, therefore, be taken to note its destination whenever a paper is removed from its original place. At Abu, however, no requisition

slip indicating the name of the borrower and the purpose of the loan is used. A paper may be removed from its shelf or pigeon hole by any clerk or assistant without leaving any clue as to its future movements. Moreover, a paper once removed may be merged in the file for which it is temporarily required for an indefinite period. At present there is nothing to ensure its punctual return and correct restoration. No one should, therefore, be permitted to remove any paper without leaving a requisition slip (sample enclosed).

10. This raises the important question of unrestricted access to the muniment rooms. At present all members of the Residency staff have free access to all the records and are at liberty to remove any paper without any reference to an officer specially responsible for its safe keeping. If possible all the records should be placed in one room or set of connected rooms to which people other than the record room staff should not ordinarily be permitted access. The records should be placed in charge of an officer specially adjoined to look after their safe keeping, to supply requisitions and to ensure the punctual return and restoration of the records loaned out. Smoking should not be permitted either in the muniment room or in the adjoining corridor.

11. I may now turn to problems relating to preservation. In his letter No. F.15-1, dated the 6th September 1944, the Hon'ble the Resident referred only to 113 volumes of records originally belonging to defunct residences of which twenty one were badly damaged. But the number of records in actual need of renovation when the entire stock is taken into account far exceeds this estimate. The four daftaris under training now will have sufficient work for many years to come and a permanent repairing staff of greater strength may, therefore, be provided for. In my opinion two more daftaris may be appointed to receive training under the Imperial Record Department mender during his stay at Abu.

12. It will be uneconomic to suggest the use of costly scientific apparatus for a record room of limited size. The ordinary methods, though comparatively less effective, are therefore recommended. Abu mainly suffers from excessive humidity and insect pests. Air conditioning of the building and vacuum fumigation are negated for financial reasons. The mildew caused by a high percentage of humidity from which many of the papers suffer as well as the insects may be temporarily put out of action by simple fumigation with paradichlorobenzene. All that is necessary is an air tight box in which the papers to be fumigated should be kept for a period of ten days. Paradichlorobenzene sublimates of itself and kills the mildew spores as well as insects both adults and larvae. Periodical fumigation will fairly provide against the adverse effects of excessive humidity and ravages of insect pests. Naphthalene bricks may be kept on the shelves as a deterrent to insects.

13. To protect the records from white ants, known to be present at Abu, the racks should be isolated from the flood by means of saucers filled with a mixture of crude creosote and kerosene oil. If the racks are actually infested with termites (white ants) the shelves should be treated with creosote but the papers should on no account be restored until the shelves are completely dry. Proper ventilation goes far to prolong the life of papers and open racks are to be preferred to closed almirahs and pigeon holes. But at a place of Abu's record of humidity and in rooms' exposed to heavy draught I should hesitate to recommend the use of open racks. Steel cases properly enamelled are to be preferred to wooden almirahs for the timber retains a certain amount of liquid material even when it is well seasoned and is, therefore, liable to be attacked by some fungi. Steel cases may not be available for some years to come, care should, therefore, be taken to keep the almirah and wooden shelves scrupulously clean and dry. A

suitable staff for dusting the records and their receptacles should therefore be immediately employed. Two dusting bearers should, in my opinion, be able to do the work satisfactorily but they should be trained not to roughly handle brittle papers. Vacuum cleaners may be employed with greater safety where the bundles are of uniform size and papers do not stick out. Some of the tin cases of the pigeon holes were found to be rusted. The rust should be removed and the tin cases should be painted or enamelled as a preventive against future oxidisation.

14. The leather bound volumes should be treated with a preservative mixture (formula given below) every three years. The mixture may be had from Messrs. B.C.P.W. of Calcutta.

15. The writings on old documents are liable to fading. In a place like Abu where the number of such faded documents is not likely to be large temporary revival of the writing by chemical process or the use of Ultra violet rays is not recommended. A typist competent to read such documents and to restore the reading with reasonable accuracy may be employed for preparing typed copies of faded records.

16. I need not refer in details to the evil effects of the practice of punching holes through old records and tying them in a bunch now in vogue in the Residency Secretariat. Old records should be guarded with hand made papers and should be stitched through the guards alone. A specimen prepared by the Imperial Record Department mender during my stay at Abu has met with the approval of Hon'ble the Resident. The papers when treated in this manner will need wider covers and 27000 blue covers will have to be replaced. This is hardly a practical proposition at the present moment and as a temporary measure I should suggest that the covers may be guarded with a strip of linen or strong paper to secure the necessary size.

17. The weeding rules appear to be fairly satisfactory but it is not clear whether they apply to the pre-mutiny records as well. In the Imperial Record Department pre-mutiny records are not weeded at all. Every care should be taken to prevent indiscriminate weeding specially because it is not always easy to determine the value or importance of a particular document. I have sometimes received from departments of the Government of India requisition for records weeded out twenty years earlier. My proposals relating to weeding are now under the consideration of the Government of India and their considered opinion may be awaited. Meanwhile the weeding operations may be suspended.

18. With regard to the current records the Imperial Secretariat procedure should be strictly followed. It was noticed that a recorded case contained papers on several subjects under one head or subject on the cover. The inconvenience of such a practice is obvious particularly in the absence of any index. The filing clerk will have to depend on his memory and carry every thing in his head and references will be difficult to locate. A large mass of papers of a routine type, which may be safely weeded after a few years, will get intermixed with important records marked for permanent preservation. The Secretariat procedure is to start separate files on different subjects.

19. In conclusion, I should like to record my obligations to Rai Sahib Gulab Chandra Jain, the Registrar, for his co-operation and courtesy. He is keenly interested in the welfare of the records of Abu, and but for his willing help and assistance my inspection would have remained incomplete in some respects.

20. My findings and recommendations are briefly stated below for ready reference :—

- (1) All records current or otherwise should be concentrated in one room and placed under the unified control of one responsible officer.
- (2) Ministerial staff not directly concerned with the record room should have no access to it and smoking in the record room should be strictly prohibited.
- (3) Records should not be supplied without a requisition slip properly filled and signed.
- (4) A check list of all records should be prepared. A quinquennial checking of all records should be provided for.
- (5) Record rooms should be provided with regular dusting arrangements, Naphthalene bricks should be used liberally on the shelves. The tin-covers of the pigeon holes should be treated with paint.
- (6) A suitable staff for manual repair and mechanical and chemical methods of preservation should be employed.
- (7) Leather bound volumes should be treated with a preservative mixture at regular intervals.
- (8) Old records should be regularly fumigated.
- (9) Rules governing access to records should be framed, Indexes and a Guide to the records should be prepared.
- (10) Arrangement for typing faded documents should be made.
- (11) Weeding of records should be suspended till fresh rules framed by the Government of India are available.
- (12) In dealing with current files the Secretariat procedure should be strictly observed.
- (13) A suitable person from the Residency staff preferably a science graduate should be sent for training in the Imperial Record Department or in the alternative a fully trained Imperial Record Department Diploma holder should be appointed to take charge of the Residency records.

Jaipur (November 1944).

I am deeply grateful to His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur and His Highness's Prime Minister, Sir Mirza Ismail, for kindly permitting me to inspect the old historical records of the state. The records date back to the Imperial Mughal days and their historical value and importance have never been questioned. Their preservation is therefore a subject of national interest and I have no doubt that every student of Indian history will appreciate the care which His Highness's Government has so long taken for their housing and renovation. The science of Archives keeping has however made rapid strides of late and I suggest that the state of things at present prevailing in the Jaipur Record office is capable of further improvement I do not in the least mean to imply that the officers concerned have not done their level best to provide the manuscript in their custody with the optimum conditions according to their resources and light.

Though the records were not ordinarily open to the public I understand that about 1924 some scholars were permitted access to the record office and was discovered that the old manuscripts had already suffered much from the ravages of time, climate and insect pests. The Jaipur Government then asked for the loan of an expert Maulavi and a mender from the Imperial Record Department and Maulavi Md. Israil Khan and Sham Sundar Addi were deputed to arrange and repair the old historical manuscripts owned by the State. While at Jaipur Addi trained a few of the local men in the art of mending fragile records with Chiffon and tissue papers. During the last twenty years nearly 30,000 documents have been flattened and repaired. The larger papers e.g. *farmans*, *nishans* and *hasle-ul-hukums* have been made into rolls and placed into tin cylinders and the smaller sheets—largely *akhbarat* or contemporary news letters have been placed under docket covers and made into bundles. The mended records are in a satisfactory state of preservation. But there are about twenty *bastas* or more accurately *buchqas* of old manuscripts still to be attended to.

The repaired documents have been registered separately in English, Urdu and Hindi and their contents and character have been briefly noted. In some cases Urdu translations of certain documents have been prepared and efforts have been made to transcribe some of the *farmans*. No systematic plan could be followed and not much progress has been achieved, I have been told, as there is no adequate staff for this technical work. A tentative arrangement of the repaired records in chronological order has been attempted but the Superintendent of the Records informed me that a recent scrutiny has many inaccuracies. The Register will therefore have to be thoroughly revised and the translations or synopses will also have to be carefully compared with the originals. This however is hardly possible until a properly qualified staff of sufficient numerical strength is enlisted. I learnt from the Superintendent that at present such work is done by him and his colleagues out of office hours.

The unrepaired records have not yet been listed and classified. No loss from these *bastas* can therefore be checked or detected. The manuscripts in these *bastas* are in an advanced state of decay. They have suffered from the natural effects of ageing as well as from ravages of insects. I have also noticed big patches of moulds on many of these papers caused by excessive humidity. It is needless to say that these papers may suffer irreparable damage unless they are immediately attended to. It appears that so far the repairing staff has been mending 1,500 manuscripts sheets per year or approximately 5 manuscript sheets per day (making allowance for holidays). At this rate most of the unrepaired records will have to wait for many years before they are finally renovated and in the meantime their condition will progressively deteriorate. The mending operations will therefore have to be considerably accelerated and the staff of menders will therefore have to be proportionately strengthened.

The mender deputed from the Imperial Record Department in 1924 was skilled in ordinary methods of repair. He was however unfamiliar with the latest scientific process of renovation. I have not with me the necessary chart of temperature and humidity of Jaipur but from the condition of the unrepaired manuscripts inspected by me it is not unreasonable to conclude that the percentage of relative humidity in some months of the year is probably high as otherwise the manuscripts in question would not have suffered perceptibly from moulds. It therefore follows that repaired papers are also suffering, though imperceptibly at present, from the same climatic conditions. Both the repaired and unrepaired papers should therefore be systematically fumigated with thymol or paradichlorobenzene.

The housing of the records leaves much to be desired. The old historical records used to be housed in a big ground floor room in the outer court-yard of the city palace. They are now being shifted to a long rectangular wing on the first floor. A muniment room need not be an architectural masterpiece but the Jaipur manuscript records deserve a building worthy of them. An ideal record building should provide ample moving space, ventilation and light without exposing the manuscripts directly to the sun. It is seldom realised that the sun and heat do more harm to papers than water. Wet papers if dried in the shade hardly suffer any permanent damage but papers exposed to the sun quickly turn brittle and become discoloured. If it is proposed to provide Jaipur records with ideal conditions of preservation a new building on the latest lines should be constructed. As variation in temperature and humidity is often harmful to the health of old papers the new building should be airconditioned so that a uniform temperature of about 80°F and a uniform relative humidity of about 55 per cent may be maintained with arrangements to filter the incoming air current.

In such a building the minimum arrangement for dusting records should suffice. But the records as they are housed at present require careful and constant dusting. Unfortunately there is no dusting staff at the Jaipur Record Office. Nor is there any deterrent against insect pests. Steps should be taken to remove these deficiencies as early as possible.

The efficiency of the repairing and dusting staff will naturally depend mainly, if not wholly, on the quality of supervision. The supervising officer must be familiar with the latest advancements in the Archives science for he will have often to tackle unaided problems peculiar to his own locality. A suitable officer may therefore be sent for training in the Imperial Record Department. If he undergoes the full course of training he will be competent not only to look after the technical work of preservation but also to supervise such work of academic interest and administrative utility as, indexing, cataloguing, classification and publication.

The Record office staff now actually work in the muniment rooms in close proximity to the records. This is hardly desirable as a careless act unconsciously committed may sometime do permanent harm to the records. It is therefore desirable that none but the dusting and servicing staff should ordinarily work in the muniment room and separate office rooms should be provided for the administrative and clerical staff.

The Superintendent of Records is to be congratulated on his zeal and energy. But for his anxiety to do his best for the papers in his charge he would not have gone out of his way to transcribe fragile papers that he felt should not be ordinarily handled and to translate Persian records which cannot be easily read by persons unfamiliar with shikasta style of writing. He does not suffer from complacency and is fully conscious of the imperfections noted above. He will doubtless make the maximum use of fresh facilities that may be made available to him.

The Superintendent very kindly took me to the Dewani Hazuri section of the records which forms the main bulk of his charge. Some of these records, he explained to me, are two to three centuries old and are likely to throw important light on the social and economic history of Jaipur. The records have been made into bundles of varying sizes and the present manner of their storage I regret to note militates against the most elementary principles of preservation. The bundles are often too big, too heavy, too tightly bound

and the margins of the papers have in most cases been frayed due to friction against the shelves. The shelves themselves are in many cases infested with boring insects from which the manuscripts are to be protected. Naphthalene and other deterrent chemicals are conspicuous by their absence. Old papers should not be subjected to undue pressure or weight but for lack of space the bundles have not only been placed on the top of one another but stored anywhere the least room is available. In fact the place appears more like a godown than a record room. There is no arrangement of dusting and I am afraid nothing so far has been done for repairing the records in this section. What is urgently wanted is (1) more shelf space, (2) splitting up of the bulky bundles into packets of smaller manageable size and (3) their redistribution on the shelves in a proper manner to avoid over loading and over crowding.

I had no occasion to see the current records. Current records of to-day are historical records of to-morrow and demand the same amount of care though in their case preventive measures may be more necessary than curative remedies. If they are properly housed, shelved, dusted and fumigated no expenditure for their repair and renovation may be called for in the near future. Care should however be taken for selecting the right kind of ink and paper for archives marked for permanent preservation.

The Superintendent of Records told me that the archives in his custody are housed in five different places. The inconveniences of such dispersal are obvious. Centralisation will ensure both economy and efficiency, technical as well as administrative. Wide dispersal is called for only in times of war emergency when the area in the archives office is located is liable to enemy bombing. In normal times centralisation will provide for better servicing and more efficient supervision. If it is decided to store all the records of the state in an air-conditioned up-to-date muniment room provided with the latest technical appliances for repair and renovation it is to be considered whether the valuable old manuscripts of the *pothikhana* also cannot be with advantage transferred to the care of the archives department.

This necessarily leads to a question of policy about which I am not competent to give any opinion but it may not be irrelevant to point out that the concentration of all manuscripts, literary and historical under common control and supervision does not necessarily mean throwing them all open irrespective of their age, state of preservation and general character to the research scholars who so far had no access to them. I may however point out that in response to a resolution of the Indian Historical Records Commission the Government of India have thrown open the great bulk of their premutiny and current records (from the earliest times to 1880) to the bonafide students of history. Such a concession must necessarily be limited by the supreme need of providing for the safety and integrity of the records themselves. The oldest records of the Government of India do not date before 1748. The Jaipur records are much older and the more fragile of them should not be frequently handled. Moreover it may be necessary to withhold some of the old records from the research students in public interest. These difficulties however are not insuperable. A scrutiny in the first place may be made by a responsible officer of the state if it is decided to accept the lead and emulate the example of the Government of India and manuscript records may be divided into two categories—public and private. The fragile papers of the first category may be transcribed and the transcription only may be supplied to the research students admitted to the record office. A guide book will be of immense help to such students and even to those who cannot visit Jaipur. All the records and manuscripts should be carefully catalogued and exhaustively indexed.

Selections from the state papers may then be published. The small state of Cooch Behar led the way in this respect years ago. Its own archives being extremely meagre it obtained transcripts of records relating to Cooch Behar from the archives of the Government of India and published them in two foolscap folio volumes. In recent years the Government of Baroda have published several volumes of selections in Marathi and English. It is but in the fitness of things that a progressive state like Jaipur which played so important a part in the history of India should place before its citizens a suitable source book of that history which their ancestor did so much to shape.

I may be permitted to repeat that unity of control need not necessarily mean a uniform policy so far as access to all the manuscripts are concerned but some concession to research students will lead to better measures of preservation as the condition of the manuscripts will be vigilantly scrutinised when their requisition is to be supplied. The central and provincial Governments in British India and some of the Indian States have thrown open their archives to bonafide research students without any untoward result. The fragile records may either be transcribed or microphotographed and these copies may be supplied to the research students for their study and scrutiny to save the original from the inevitable results of frequent or careless handling.

My observations are necessarily of a general nature. If a complete and detailed scheme for the organisation of a new Archives Department and the construction of a building is called for, I shall be glad to render what service I can.

Alwar (December 1944).

Alwar records may not claim a great antiquity but they go back to the very beginning of the State and relate to all departments of the administration. Their utility has been frankly recognised and in spite of 'somewhat drastic weeding' they are fairly numerous. The Officer-in-Charge assured me that any document can be located within a few minutes. Evidently he has a fairly good index or hand-list to guide him. But the methods of preservation cannot be described as other than primitive.

2. Paper is admittedly a perishable commodity and cannot be preserved for all eternity but under favourable conditions its life can be prolonged and manuscript records have been known to last for centuries. It is the business of the archivist to provide the optimum conditions for the fragile documents in his custody and not to permit the natural agencies of deterioration and decay to have a free play.

3. A record building need not be an architectural masterpiece but it must be clean, dry and well ventilated. Above all it must be spacious enough to prevent over-crowding. The racks must not be exposed to sun and draught and it is important to remember that the former is more injurious to paper than the latter. Paper soaked in water comes to comparatively little harm if dried in the shade. Writing in non-ferrous ink alone is affected by contact with water but sun warps paper and renders it brittle thus impairing its strength for good. The racks therefore should preferably be arranged in the spaces intervening between the windows at right angles to the wall and passages 6 feet wide should be left between the racks for the convenience of the record room staff. A central passage from one end of the room to the other may also be provided to connect the parallel passages between the racks (as in the sketch A).

4. The health of the papers may be vitally affected by the material of which the racks and shelves on which they rest are made. Ordinarily steel is to be preferred to timber for even the best seasoned teak retains some amount of liquid in it and is liable to be infested with fungi though its bitter taste provides an immunity against termites and other insect pests. Steel on the other hand if suitably enamelled is free from sweating and rusting but if the temperature of the record room is excessively high the paper kept on steel shelves may get imperceptibly warped. The choice must be left to the discretion of the archivist as the relative advantage or disadvantage is largely determined by local conditions and the question of cost cannot be left entirely out of consideration. In case, however, timber is selected, bars should be preferred to solid planks for the construction of shelves as more conducive to cleanliness and inner ventilation.

5. Temperature and relative humidity of the record room are factors not to be lightly ignored. Excessive variation in either case has unhealthy effects and a uniform temperature of about 80°F and a uniform relative humidity of about 55 per cent. have been found to be most suitable for the health of papers and human beings in charge of them. This optimum condition can be ensured by a suitable system of air-conditioning but such costly remedies are not recommended for comparatively small record rooms like that of Alwar.

6. Even the strongest paper is liable to break in course of time if folded and the process of fragmentation is considerably accelerated when such folded papers are subjected to undue pressure. Every care should therefore be taken while making bundles. Unfortunately this elementary principle has been ignored in the Alwar Record Office. The vernacular records have without any exception been folded and then made into loose bastas of irregular size. These again have been heaped on one another upon the shelves thus subjecting some of the folded papers to extra pressure. This off-hand way of bundling valuable records inevitably expedites their deterioration. All folded papers should therefore be flattened, repaired if necessary, guarded with hand-made papers and placed for better protection under docket covers. Stitching through original papers should be scrupulously avoided. The number, date and description of the document enclosed may be noted on the docket-cover for ready reference and easy location. The flattened documents under docketed covers should thereafter be made into bundles of convenient size preferably 14½ in. × 9½ in. × 6 in. Each bundle should be fastened between two ply-wood boards, with soft twine. Synthetic materials mentioned in the foot-note have been tested in the Imperial Record Department Laboratory and found to be good but inexpensive substitutes of ply-wood board. These boards can be cut into pieces of required size and are generally speaking wet and insect-proof. The boards should be slightly larger than the papers within to prevent the twine contacting and consequently cutting into them. The bundles should on no account be tightly fastened as it will cause unnecessary pressure. When completed, they should be stored horizontally and not vertically on the shelves. If they are placed vertically, i.e., made to stand on one end, the papers enclosed will in due course sag down and be rubbed against the shelf damaging the bottom margin.

Foot-note.—Masonite Tempered Presdwood.—Messrs. Bird & Co., 74, Queensway, New Delhi.

Insulite Dark-hand Board.—Messrs. William Jacks & Co., Ltd., 10, Clive Street, Calcutta.

Celotex Tempered Hand Board.—Shaw Wallace & Co., 4, Banksall Street, Calcutta.

Cance Insulation Boards.—Lyal Marshall & Co., Cannanught Circus, New Delhi.

7 While flattening folded papers the mender will take note of damages due to wear and tear and set apart the fragile and broken records that demand repair and renovation. The most effective as well as economic method of repair is lamination with cellulose acetate foil. The operation, however, will involve a capital investment of about 40,000 rupees in a specially made hydraulic press and is not likely to prove economic in a small record room though the saving in time labour and recurring cost will be enormous. Repair with Japanese Tissue paper of the best quality and Chiffon is therefore, recommended.

8. Dirt, damp and darkness often provide ideal conditions for insect pests and in a record room food supply is usually abundant. I did not find much evidence of their presence in the Alwar Record Office but there is no harm in taking elementary precautions. Naphthalene brieks may be placed on every shelf as naphthalene balls evaporate quickly. The records may be fumigated at regular intervals with thymol and paradichlorobenzene, the paste used for repairing (preferably dextrine paste, recipe given below) should be dozed with white arsenic and the records should be regularly dusted. Fumigation with paradichlorobenzene will not only exterminate adult insects and their larvae but will also kill the mildew spores caused by excessive humidity during the monsoon months. The bundles should be regularly dusted.

9. Fumigation with thymol or paradichlorobenzene does not require any complicated apparatus or special technical knowledge. For Thymol fumigation an ordinary cabinet with wire netting shelves will do. The papers to be fumigated may be placed on the shelves and a quantity of thymol may be placed below in a saucer, an electric lamp of 100 c. p. will supply the heat necessary for sublimation. For paradichlorobenzene an air tight steel almirah should be used. The chemical sublimate of itself and the papers should be kept inside the almirah for a period of 10 days if maximum result is desired. The vapour is slightly poisonous for human beings and may cause headache or other mild maladies.

10. Brittle and fragile papers should not be roughly handled. The bundles, therefore, should not be unnecessarily disturbed. Hand-dusting by irresponsible and unintelligent menials often causes more harm than good. I have noticed bearers throwing down papers violently from the top-most shelves of racks and fisting the bundles in a manner likely to break the fragile papers into pieces. If the papers within the bundles are of uniform size they may be more conveniently dusted with Vacuum Cleaners. Mechanical dusting is more efficient, economic and safe.

11. I did not notice any leather bound volume in the Alwar Record Office. The life of the leather covers can be prolonged by treating them with a preservative mixture.

Benzene	..	.. 11 oz.	} avoird
Cederwood oil	..	.. 1 oz.	
Bees wax	..	.. $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.	} fluid
Lanoline Anhydrous	..	.. 7 oz.	

Foot-note.—Dextrine	..	5 lbs.
Saffrol	..	1½ Oz.
Oil of Cloves	..	1½ Oz.
White Arsenic	..	2½ Oz.
Water	..	10 lbs.

The B.C. & P. W. of Calcutta will be able to supply dextrine paste, naphthalene bricks and leather preservative mixture.

12. The English records have not been folded; they have been preserved flat, made into bundles of uniform size but unfortunately in the few instances that came to my notice the original papers were stitched in the corner. The remarks in para. 6 above also apply to the English records.

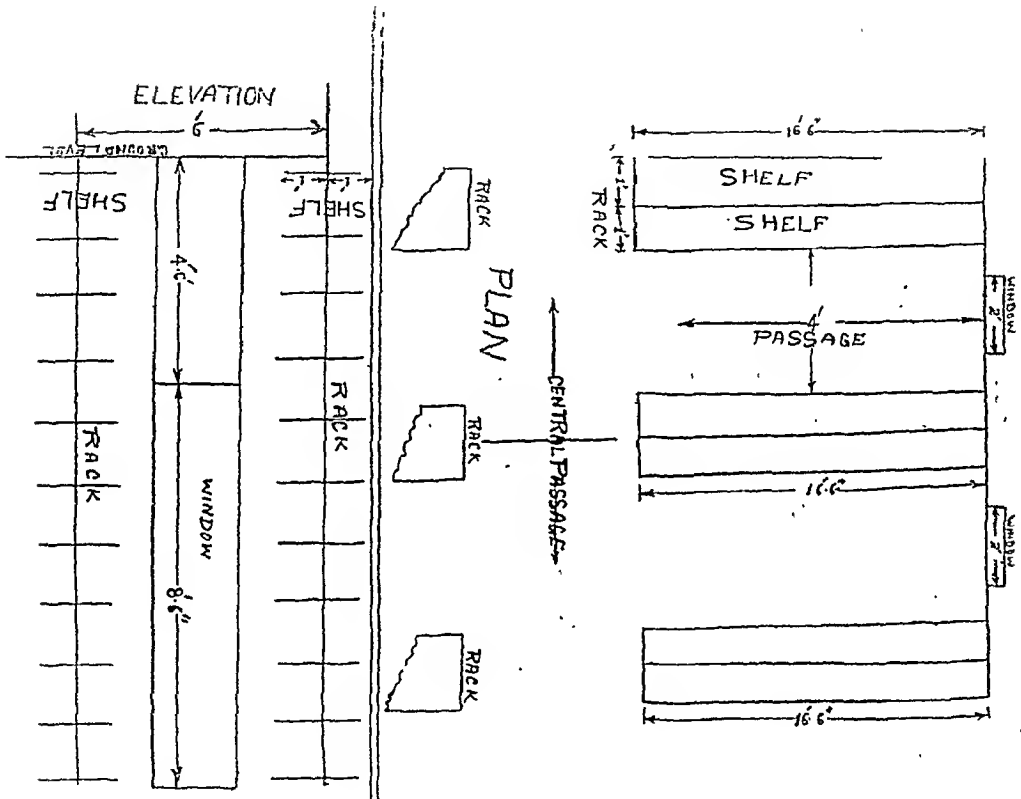
13. I found the manner and method of weeding rather out of the ordinary. The records subjected to the weeder's scrutiny are treated in the most cavalier fashion. I found them dumped on the bare floor of the room where the weeders were at work like so many heaps of street refuse and the clerk who led me to the place walked over them without the least concern. Weeding is a difficult and risky operation. My experience is that I sometimes get requisition for records weeded out long ago by the department concerned. No fool-proof rule for weeding can possibly be framed as the value of a particular record necessarily differs according to the point of view from which it is examined. What is absolutely worthless to a student of history may be of unusual interest to a student of economics or philology. So far as I could learn the weeders at Alwar assess the value of a record according to their administrative importance. But State records are the most valuable raw materials of the political, social and economic history of the region and therefore deserve preservation even when they may not be needed for purposes of everyday administration. The weeding rules may, therefore, be revised in consultation with the Department of Education and the records marked out for destruction should be carefully scrutinised by the Professors of History and Economics of the Raj Rishi College before they are finally disposed of. I may state in this connection that the Calcutta High Court has recently agreed to be guided by the expert advice of a member of the Indian Historical Records Commission in all cases of weeding records.

14. Finally a selection from State records with necessary notes and introduction may be published for the benefit of the students of history. Such a publication will have more than one advantage. It will create an interest in old records and will lead to a general examination of all official records by a competent official of the State which in its turn will reveal the state of preservation in which the records are and what documents stand in need of immediate repair and renovation. Moreover, the administration will also find in such a publication a work of ready reference and such fragile and decaying records as may be reproduced there will be spared from repeated handling and its inevitable consequence. It is for the Alwar Government to consider whether they should like the Government of India throw open their non-historical records to approved research scholars.

15. I have to refer to another question, viz. that of faded records. The number of such records must be very limited and costly methods of reproduction need not be employed. A competent clerk familiar with the script and style of old records may be asked to transcribe such records and the transcription may be compared by another person with the original.

16. The Record Office, as it is located at present, has several exits and entrances. In case of emergencies, such as outbreak of fire, more than one exit is undoubtedly desirable. But ordinarily there should be only one entry and exit to and from the record office to ensure greater safety of the muniments. The Muniment room should be amply provided with fire fighting appliances and at least a dozen of the record room employees should regularly undergo fire drill. Smoking in the Records office should be strictly prohibited.

SKETCH 'A'
Building Plan for Alwar Records Office



17. To sum up my recommendations are:—

- (i) The racks should be re-arranged to avoid sun and rain and to provide for necessary passages.
- (ii) All folded records should be flattened, repaired and renovated if necessary, guarded, placed under docket covers and made into bundles of uniform size. The bundles when completed should be placed horizontally on the shelves.
- (iii) A mending staff should be employed and a regular mending programme adopted.
- (iv) A small staff of dusting bearers should be engaged and the records and racks should be regularly cleaned with Vacuum Cleaners.
- (v) The records should be regularly fumigated and the shelves should -- be provided with a generous supply of Naphthalene bricks.
- (vi) The Muniment rooms should be provided with fire fighting appliances. The record office staff should be trained in fire fighting methods and smoking in the record office should be strictly prohibited.
- (vii) The weeding rules should be revised in consultation with the Department of Education and weeding operation should be carried under the supervision of the Professors of History and Economics of the local Colleges.
- (viii) A selection from records should be published, and if historical records are thrown open to bonafide research students a reading room should be provided for them in the record office.

Delhi.

As no reply has been received so far to the enquiry whether the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, has in his custody any Crown or Central Government records and whether I can be granted facilities to inspect them, no action could be taken. The Chief Commissioner is being reminded.

Ajmer (December 1946).

1. On my way to Indore in connection with the Twentythird Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, I visited the Secretariat of the Chief Commissioner on the 9th December 1946 at 11 A.M. I was taken round by the office Superintendent and by Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya, Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. It was a closed holiday and I highly appreciate the courtesy of keeping the record rooms open for my convenience.

2. Widely different conditions prevail in the English and Vernacular record rooms. While the former is furnished with steel racks and the bundles are kept horizontally in a neat row the latter has plastered stone shelves and the records are kept in loose bastas heaped on one another. On enquiry I came to learn that no regular dusting and cleaning arrangements exist. Dust carries infection both to the papers and to the people working in the rooms. I would therefore suggest that two dusting bearers should be appointed to clean the racks and bundles of records. Sweepers should also be employed to keep the room thoroughly clean.

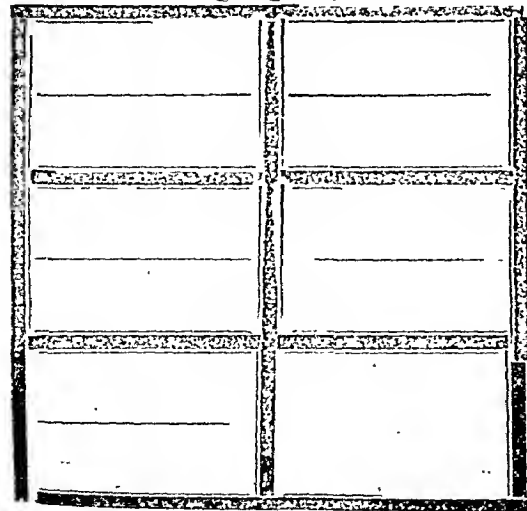
3. In a corner of the vernacular section of the District records, a huge mass of records have been kept on the floor. These are meant for weeding. If weeding has to be properly undertaken, the papers should be examined hatch by hatch, by a competent authority, orders for destruction obtained and then the papers disposed of with a suitable remark in the weeding register,

and when one batch is thus disposed of a further batch of papers can be taken up. But it seems that such a procedure is not observed there to avoid clumsy accumulation of waste or unwanted papers or papers which still await orders for destruction.

4. In both the vernacular and English sections, the papers have been kept as they were received from their place of origin. They are mostly loose. The danger of keeping loose papers is that pages may be lost and the inferior servants who usually handle them, may unwittingly mix up paper of one bundle with another. These should therefore be properly stitched and put in a docket cover, the year, bundle number and a brief title giving subject reference written on the cover. In many cases, however, the original papers have been stitched through. This is undesirable as stitching through the original papers always makes it brittle in the course of time.

5. The system of bundling the records appeared to be defective. In the Vernacular department unwieldy bundles have been formed with a big bulk of papers. Then again, the bundles have been placed one on top of the other to economise space, while many have been kept on the floor for the same reason. The obvious result is that the papers at the bottom of each bundle are being subjected to the weight of the whole bundle itself as well as that of an additional bundle or bundles kept above it. The lowermost papers will in course of time be completely devitalised and become brittle and crumble to pieces. The correct method would therefore be to form bundle of uniform size (14in. \times 9in. and the depth should not be more than 12in.; the size of the board should be 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.) have them tied with longline with two hard boards on both sides (preferably synthetic hard board) and keep them horizontally on the shelf. Vertical storing of the bundles will no doubt economise shelf space but that will cause considerable damage to the edges of the papers which usually sag down and are subjected to friction with the surface of the racks while in use. Horizontal position of the bundles will avoid this risk.

6. The question of adequate shelf space no doubt demands serious consideration but this problem can, in my opinion, be solved to a certain extent without incurring big expenditure. The racks are made of stone. They are damp and cannot be kept properly clean. These stone shelves and racks appear to be white-washed from time to time. I should certainly recommend complete demolition of this type of stack room, but until a better arrangement can be made, I should suggest that these stone racks be fitted with wooden lining inside and the entire vertical space in each hole be divided by another wooden shelf as shown in the diagram. If this arrangement is given effect to it will immediately double the shelf accommodation, the bundles of papers can be kept more cleanly and the damp from the stone can be avoided to a great extent.



Thick line—stone.

Thin line—wooden casing.

7: There is no arrangement for proper mending and renovation of records at Ajmer. There are certainly many papers of permanent interest but these cannot stand the strain of age and the ravages of various insect pests for an indefinite period unless they are regularly serviced. I should accordingly suggest as a preliminary to the further development in future that the Chief Commissioner, Ajmer should get one of his men trained in the methods of preservation for six months in the Imperial Record Department in the first instance.

Indore Residency (December 1946).

1. I visited the record rooms of the Indore Residency on the 13th December 1946 at 10-30 A.M. Major A.E.G. Davy, Secretary to the Hon'ble Resident, was kind enough to show me round and I must acknowledge with grateful thanks the co-operation and facilities I received from him.

2. There are three sets of rooms on the ground floor, well-ventilated and properly looked after. The rooms are fitted with steel racks with closed pigeon-holes like those in the Rajputana Agency at Abu. The advantage of this system is it fairly guards the records from dust, but at the same time it prevents ventilation and free flow of fresh air. Dark corners always provide ideal hatching places for insect pests. Unless therefore strong deterrents like naphthalene in brick size are used in each of these holes it is difficult to arrest the inroad of insects at a later date. Considering however the cost of new construction on modern lines. I refrain from making any such suggestion but if the existing system has to be continued the records should be looked after properly. For instance, the arrangement for dusting the records, pigeon holes and open racks appeared to be insufficient. There is no regular daily dusting arrangement in these record rooms.

3. The oldest records in the Residency are of the pre-mutiny period commencing from 1802. The volumes of Registers are from 1804 and those of the files from 1832. The papers are generally in a good state of preservation. They are free from insect pests. In one of the shelves, however, some bound volumes have been found to have been badly damaged by silver-fish and borers and also affected by moulds. These, I was told were received from outside Agencies. I recommend that these papers should be removed en bloc and segregated from the rest as a precautionary measure otherwise the infection will gradually though slowly spread. As all other records are free from insect pests the removal of the infected records is urgently called for. These documents should be properly fumigated with paradichlorobenzene and the bound volumes should be treated with leather preservative mixture. In the absence however of any such arrangements in the Residency at present and in view of the fact that it will take a considerable time to improvise such methods. I recommend to the Government of India and His Excellency the Crown Representative that these records may be sent to Imperial Record Department for necessary action and return thereafter to the Residency. As the bulk of records is small the expenses may be met from the sanctioned budget grant of the Imperial Record Department.

4. The bundles are in many cases unwieldy. When the size is inordinate, the weight is necessarily heavy and the papers are bound to sag at the bottom unless they are tied hard. Tight-tying of papers is extremely injurious as they break the paper at the folds. The size normally should be 14in. X 9in. and the depth should not be more than 12in.; the size of the boards should be 14in. X 9in. These bundles are placed sideways tightly packed in the shelf. The result is that whenever a bundle is taken out it cannot be done without subjecting the adjacent bundles to some amount of rough

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treatment. Again, the bundles are tied in many cases with file-boards on one side only. This does not certainly afford any protection or support to the papers excepting keeping them together. Moreover, these file-boards are generally prepared out of bad materials and are more liable to damage by insects than those of good quality paper made of cotton rags or wood pulp. These file-boards should therefore be immediately replaced by wooden boards, preferably by synthetic hard board.

5. There is at present no arrangement at the Residency for mending and preservation of records. But one of its employees has practically completed his training in the Imperial Record Department in Preservation and it is understood another man is proposed to be sent soon. It is hoped that with the trained personnel, the Residency will be able to start work of mending and preservation immediately and accordingly I refrain from giving a detailed note on the necessity and various methods of conservation work. It will be helpful to the Residency on the other hand, if I give here a brief account of the plan according to which the conservation work can be initiated forthwith.

6. Four menders should be employed who can be taught the methods of repair and renovation of old and fragile documents by the trained man who will soon be released from the Imperial Record Department. The menders may be treated as inferior servants. One or two steel almirahs (Godrej type) with perforated and adjustable shelves may for the present be used as fumigation chambers. The doors of the almirahs should have rubber lining to make them air-tight as far as possible otherwise the paradichlorobenzene vapour used in the fumigation chamber will be wasted. That vapour is, besides, slightly poisonous to human being as much as to give a bad headache. The formula of the Dextrine Paste and leather preservative mixture are mentioned in the foot-note and may be had of the Indian Alkalies Ltd., 5 & 6, Haro Street, Calcutta, 1. It would be economical to use naphthalene in brick-form. The same firm can supply them in whatever size required. But in any case the small balls available in the market are of little use as they evaporate very quickly and do not serve the purpose of a strong repellent. All file-boards should be replaced from the bundles by synthetic hard board. A sample in each case mentioned above and those of other articles of repair will be sent to the Residency along with the trainee from the Residency, who will be released soon.

7. The records were last weeded in 1935 according to a set of rules in force there. Since then no weeding has taken place. I strongly recommend that no weeding should be undertaken without consulting an expert. I can cite instances where papers weeded out as useless have been subsequently requisitioned by the Government of India for administrative reference purposes. Some of these papers though marked for destruction were luckily not destroyed but kept as "C" class papers and the demand for them are gradually increasing for historical research in the social, commercial and economic fields. An advance copy of the new weeding rules already approved

LEATHER PRESERVATIVE MIXTURE.

Lanoline, Anhydrous	55	7 oz.
Beeswax	—	—
Cedarwood Oil	..	1 oz.
Benzene	..	11 oz.

DEXTRINE PASTE.

Dextrine	..	5 lbs.
Oil of Cloves	..	1½ oz.
Saffrol	..	1½ oz.
White Arsenic	..	2½ oz.
Water	..	10 lbs.

by the Government of India and commended by the Indian Historical Records Commission during the Indore Session for adoption by all Government Agencies in India is enclosed herewith for use by the Residency. The Residency therefore must have an expert before they can take up weeding.

8. During my inspection visit I came to know that the Residency is not aware of the important Communication of His Excellency the Crown Representative relating to access to records in the custody of the British Residencies in India. A copy of the relevant portion is given below :—

Resolution XXI. (18th Session)—This Commission recommends to the Government of India that early steps be taken for a proper examination of the records of the pre-mutiny period in the custody of the British Residencies and those which are not of confidential character be published and thrown open to bonafide research scholars.

His Excellency the Crown Representative has been pleased to throw open his records upto 1880 in the custody of the British Residencies in India to bonafide research scholars. The Residents in India have been instructed to frame rules regarding the access to the records in their custody in the lines of the Imperial Record Department (Historical Research) Rules so far as they could be relevantly utilised.

In view of the need for economy both in money and paper the question of publishing historical records in the custody of the British Residencies will be considered on a more suitable occasion after the war.

9. I do not propose to deal with the question of policy regarding the publication of Residency records in general. But since the Crown records in the Residency are thrown open for bonafide research up to 1880, I consider that suitable arrangements for publication should be made. If the Residency cannot take up the publication of historical documents immediately, the question of preparing a series of exhaustive Indexes to the records should be taken up forthwith as that would serve the combined purpose of administration and research. I suggest that a fully trained and qualified archivist should be appointed in the Residency to organise the record rooms and to implement the suggestions detailed above. It may be noted here that the Rajputana Agency at Abu appointed a Ph.D. in History who had received a full course of two-years' training in the Imperial Record Department.

10. Summary of my recommendations are:—

- (1) The record rooms, racks, pigeon holes, etc. should be kept clean and for this purpose two dusting-bearers should be appointed.
- (2) Infected records received in the Residency from outside Agencies should be immediately segregated and then sent to the Imperial Record Department for fumigation and return.
- (3) Mending work should be started with at least 4 menders. Dextrine paste and leather Preservative mixture should be used.
- (4) Fumigation of records with paradichlorobenzene should be started with two steel almira's used as fumigation chambers.
- (5) Naphthalene bricks should be used profusely.
- (6) Bundles should be formed in size and with boards as suggested.
- (7) Weeding should not be done till expert supervision is available.
- (8) Indexing of records should be started with a qualified staff.
- (9) A fully qualified and trained man should be appointed to organize the record rooms.

Bihar (January 1947).

1. I visited the Bihar Secretariat on the 2nd January 1947 at 11 A.M. I was given all facilities to inspect the record rooms. Dr. K. K. Datta, the Bihar Government's representative on the Indian Historical Records Commission was also with me.

2. The Provincial Government have in their custody about 43 bundles of Crown records—all of them printed copies received from Bengal. There is a catalogue and the oldest documents date back to 1861. The Crown records are kept strictly apart from the provincial records in a separate room allotted for the purpose.

3. Even if the Bihar Government had some arrangement for repair and rejuvenation of old records, they could do nothing with these Crown records which are in an advanced state of brittleness. The only measure that I can recommend is to get these reprinted if spare printed copies are not available with the Government of Bengal.

4. There is no dusting or cleaning arrangement. Even naphthalene bricks are not in use. For a small collection of records, I do not suggest the purchase of a vacuum cleaner. But if the Bihar Government decide to secure one for use in their record rooms, it can be utilised for these records as well. Failing this, arrangement for dusting these records daily should be made. The stack room is ideal in a way having vertical ventilation arrangements.

United Provinces (January 1947).

I visited the Office of the Board of Revenue, Allahabad, on the 8th January 1947 at 11 A.M. and that of the United Provinces Secretariat at Lucknow on the 9th January 1947 at 11 A.M. On arrival at these places I was informed that the United Provinces Government have no Central or Crown records in their custody. The position seemed to be confusing to me but it could not be clarified then and there. Had I been informed the actual situation earlier I would not have undergone the trouble and expense of visiting these places at all. I would therefore suggest that the Government of India should make an enquiry of the United Provinces Government whether they have in their custody records belonging to the Central or Crown records on:—

- (i) any Central subject; excepting those of Railway land acquisition schemes in U.P. located at Allahabad;
- (ii) tribal, excluded or partially excluded areas;
- (iii) Crown records in the custody of the Government or His Excellency the Governor or in any other place;
- (iv) defunct Lucknow Residency which should otherwise be treated as Central Government records;
- (v) Mixed records of the Political Department and the Provincial Governments;
- (vi) Nepal, Sikkim or Bhutan and external relation with any other neighbouring independent states.

2. The United Provinces Government however sought my advice on their own records which I inspected on verbal request. As the United Provinces Government are now contemplating to organise a record office of their own, I do not consider it necessary to record my views on the subject here.

APPENDIX F.

Schedule of questions addressed to the several Departments and Attached and Subordinate Offices of the Government of India which do not transmit records to the National Archives of India for custody—drawn up by the Local Records Sub-Committee at its 12th meeting held in February, 1946, and approved by the Research and Publication Committee at its 10th meeting held in March 1946.

1. What is the date of the formation of the_____
 2. What are its present functions? Are any of them derived from any other agency and if so, is that agency now defunct or has simply changed its functions?
 3. Did it ever have any function other than those described under 2 above and if so please state them with dates. Please give also the name of the agency or agencies with official address to which these functions may have been transferred?
 4. What is the name of the Secretariat Department having the present administrative control of_____. Please give the name|names of any other Department|Departments under whose control it may have been before the introduction of the present arrangement. (Give the dates)
 5. What administrative reorganisation has it undergone since its establishment?
 6. Please give the name and location of building or buildings it now occupies.
 7. What other buildings it may have occupied with dates of occupancy thereof.
 8. What records are preserved in the_____ or any Department or Branch of it or elsewhere? Please give the official address and description of the repository or Branch repositories.
 9. What portion of the records relate to the present functions of the_____. Has it in its custody any records relating to such of its functions as it may have given up or may have transferred to any other agency or agencies. If not, in whose custody they are now?
 10. Has_____ in its custody any records other than those originated by it. If so please give a list of the records stating how it came to acquire them.
 11. Is there any strong room or muniment-room or other fire-proof receptacle for the records in the_____?
- (a) In what part of the building are the records placed?
 - (b) What arrangements are made for the custody of the records out of office hours and for the protection of the building from fire?
 - (c) Is the repository free from damp? Has any record been kept of the variation in temperature and humidity inside the repository?
 - (d) What precautions are taken to avoid injury to records from the bursting of automatic sprinklers or water pipes if any in the record room.
 - (e) What arrangements are made for affording the records' protection against dust and insectal fungal attacks?

12. How are the records arranged in the repository ?
 1. Are they placed on (1) Shelves (2) in Packing boxes (3) in Sacks or (4) on the Floor.
 2. What portion of the records is bound and what portion unbound ?
 3. What is the average size of the bound volumes ? Are they kept on shelves horizontally one upon another or vertically ?
 4. (a) Are unbound documents folded or flattened ?
 - (b) Has each document been provided with shell covers ?
 - (c) Are they kept between protective boards or are they kept in bundles tied with strings without no other protection whatsoever ?
 - (d) Are the bundles kept on the shelves vertically one on another or horizontally ?
5. Are the records arranged in their respective series and numbered throughout ?
6. Is there a numbered list of the records or any Index or Descriptive catalogue or any other finding aid ?
13. Is there any definite system of Registration of official papers received at and disposed from the _____ ?
 - (a) What is this system and when was it initiated ?
 - (b) Are there any papers issued or received that are not registered ? If so, what is their general nature ?
 - (c) What percentage of registered papers are periodically destroyed ?
 - (d) Is it often found that papers required for official reference have been so destroyed ?
 - (e) Is a complete series of Register preserved ? What are their inclusive dates ?
14. Are the records in a good state of preservation ?
15. Are there any brittle records in the collection ? Are they repaired and if so, what materials are used in repairing, and what methods of repair are adopted ?
16. (a) What rules are followed in disposing of the valueless records ? Are these rules followed in all the branch offices of agencies under the control of _____ ?
- (b) Please state if a description or specimens of the papers weeded are preserved.
- (c) How are the condemned papers dealt with ?
17. Have any of the records been published to your knowledge ?
18. Are the records preserved in _____ or any Branch of it under the charge of a special officer ? By whom is the official appointed and what are his special qualifications for the post ? What is his official title and status ? What are his official duties and under what supervision are they exercised ? What is the total strength and cost of the records establishment ?

19. Have the ———— received any application from a research student for consulting its records? In case such applications are considered favourably, what are the conditions required of the applicants?

20. Have any requisition been received from other Departments in respect of the records in the ————'s custody? Are any records transmitted elsewhere for official use?

21. Has the Department any class of records that are constantly required in connection with transaction of current business? (Please give inclusive dates.)

22. Has the Department any objection to transferring the records not usually required for current business to a central repository for custody maintenance and storage? If so, what is it?

23. Has the Department any information as to the facilities available for Government Departments at the Imperial Record Department in respect of storage, custody, maintenance, repair and reconditioning of records? Is the Department aware that 21 Departments of Government of India including the Secretariat Departments have already availed themselves of these facilities and have transferred to its custody not only all their non-current records but also all current records more than 5 years old? Has the ———— any objection to avail of similar facilities and if so what is it?

APPENDIX G.

A Note on W. G. OUSLOW'S Letter

By

(Mr. K. A. Sajan Lal, M.A., Secunderabad-Deccan)

Major Evans Bell, in his book entitled "The Mysore Reversion" (1866 Ed.) discusses the question as regards the total number of European Coffee Planter Settlers in Mysore. He criticises Mangles, who says, "Mysore is full of European Settlers, Coffee planters and others, and every day is adding to their numbers." (*vide* p. 238). To this charge Bell replies as follows, "I hardly think that a community of five or six and thirty individuals in a population of about four millions ought to be called a considerable number" (*vide* p. 238). Proceeding further he asserts, "I am not prepared to believe that there are more than thirty and forty European planters residing in Mysore territories" (*vide* p. 239).

Thus we find that this controversial question has run into a number of pages (238 to 242), yet without coming to a definite conclusion, as to the exact number of European settlers. Luckily W.G. Ouslow's letter, dated 29th November 1866, addressed to Mangles, of whose original copy I have acquired, closes this controversy by pointing or fixing the number of European employed to be about 50. The letter reads thus:—

Gresham House,
29th November 1866.

"My dear Ross (Mangles)

I am informed by a Coffee Planting partner of mine, who has lately come from Mysore that there are in that country about 32 large plantations belonging to European owners managed by about 50 Europeans.

The extent of the plantations I cannot give.

Sincerely yours
W. G. OUSLOW"

APPENDIX H.

LIST OF EXHIBITS.

From the National Archives, Government of India, New Delhi.

(a) Documents on the East India Company.

Twenty five documents exhibited here represent a few of the landmarks in the constitutional and administrative history of the East India Company. They do not give a connected and continuous account of the growth of the Company's power, but are intended to give a bird's eye-view of a century of its power before the transfer of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown. Nos. 1—7 give an account of the foundations on which the whole of the Company's structure was subsequently raised, and they incidentally show how the Company at first agreed to become the *de facto* ruler while maintaining the *de jure* sovereignty of the Mughal Emperor. Nos. 8—10 relate to the introduction of a paper currency and the earliest form in which treasury notes were printed. No. 11 deploras the death of the famous Orientalist Sir William Jones, the bicentenary of whose birth was celebrated with great enthusiasm at Calcutta in 1946. Nos. 12—14 give us a glimpse into the causes leading to the introduction of the postage stamps in this country. No. 20 gives expression to the Governor-General's admiration of the splendid achievements of the Indian army in Java, Mauritius and Bourbon. No. 24 will be found particularly useful by all students of history, especially Rajasthanis. The last document (No. 25) contains a statement of Rupees current in Rajputana in 1858.

1. *Home Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, No. 1 (b).*—Copy of a Treaty with the Nawab Shuja-ud-daula.
2. *Home Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, No. 2.*—A contemporary copy (English) of the *farman* granting the *Dewani* of the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa to the East India Company.
3. *Home Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, No. 3.*—Copy of the agreement with the Nawab in consequence of the *farman* obtained for the *Dewani* of the Provinces by the Company.
4. *Home Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, No. 4.*—Copy of *farman* from Mughal Emperor Shah Alam granting the *Dewani* of Bengal.
5. *Home Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, No. 6.*—Copy of *farman* for the *Dewani* of the Province of Bihar.
6. *Home Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, No. 6.*—Copy of *farman* for the *Dewani* of the Province of Orissa.
7. *Home Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, No. 7.*—Copy of *farman* confirming to the Company the reversion of Lord Clive's *Jagir* agreeable to the Nawab's *Sanad* obtained earlier.
8. *Home Pub. 1 May, 1780, No. 24.*—Warren Hasting's Minute regarding the introduction of the Paper Currency.
9. *Home Pub. 8 May, 1780, No. 19.*—Regulations for Treasury Notes.
10. *Home Pub. 8 May, 1780, No. 20.*—Form of the Treasury Notes.

11. *Home Pub.* 2 May, 1794, No. 1.—Minute of the Governor-General deploring the death of Sir William Jones and suggesting that all materials left by him for the Digest of the Hindu & Muhammedan Laws may be asked for from his executor.
12. *Home Pub.* 1 July, 1853, Nos. 1—3.—Nos. 1 & 2 contain the memorandum by Col. Forbes, Mint-Master, on the introduction of postage stamps in place of the system of money payments.
No. 3 is a Minute (holograph) by Lord Dalhousie, the Governor General, on the practicability of preparing postage stamps in this country.
13. *Home Pub.* 12 May, 1854, Nos. 44-45.—Another Minute by Lord Dalhousie stating that since lithography cannot be safely relied upon for permanent supply of postage stamps in India, the Court of Directors have been requested to expedite supply of postage stamps from England.
14. *Home Pub.* 19 May, 1854, No. 64.—From the Deputy Surveyor General forwarding specimens of postage stamps in duplicate to the Government of India.
15. *Home Pub.* 12 Dec. 1856, Nos. 54-55.—Bill for the incorporation of the Universities of Calcutta with adaptations for the presidencies of Madras and Bombay.
16. *Home Pub. Cons.* 1857, Aug. 7 No. 137.—Nāna Sahib's Urdu Proclamation (with its English translation) calling upon the Sepoys to mutiny.
17. *Mily. Dept. List of the Bengal Army 1778-85, Vol. 1(c).*—General list of the Army, Fort William, the 30th June, 1781.
18. *For. Cons.* Oct. 11, 1850, Nos. 92—96.—Correspondence regarding discovery and fineness of specimens of gold from the sands of the Indus.
19. *For. Cons.* 25 Nov. 1853, Nos. 39—41.—Trade of the Indian States in India with the United Kingdom of Great Britain placed on the same footing with certain exceptions like the British possessions in the East Indies.
20. *Pol. Cons.* 15 Feb. 1812, Nos. 2-3.—General order by the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor General in Council expressing His Lordship's admiration and applause for the splendid achievements of the army under the Command of His Excellency Sir Samuel Auchmuty, the Commander-in-Chief of the expedition against the French Power in Java, congratulating the Native Troops of the Bengal Army who had distinguished themselves by their valour in the most trying scenes of the war: announcing the commemoration of the victory by the distribution of medals to troops and by erecting and consecrating by Governor General's own expense a memorial to the memory of those who fell gloriously in this as well as in the conquest of Bourbon and Mauritius.
21. *Sec. Cons.* 28 Jan. 1773, No. 2.—Minute of Brig. General Sir Robert Barker on the subject of reconstructing the Sepoy Corps, as the expense for a *Pargana Sepoy* who is not trustworthy for war, amounts to that of a regular army Sepoy.—He observes also

that the European Officers in charge of the *Pargana Sepoy* have forgotten their subordination to superior officers and have accumulated money. Submits a plan to establish a militia for the internal protection of the country and the collection of revenues.

22. *Sec. Cons.* 23 Apr. 1833, No. 14.—Report of Captain Wade (Political Agent, on a mission to Lahore and Bhawalpur) dated 31 December 1832 of his conversation with Maharaja Ranjit Singh on various topics including the scheme for opening the navigation of the Indus and the Sutlej. Draft of the articles of a convention on his subject.
23. *Sec. Cons.* 4 Dec. 1839, Nos. 78—80.—Lt. Col. Wade reports the demise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh on June 1839; His Highness's declaration nominating Kharak Singh as his successor and appointing Dhan Singh to the *Wizarat*; bestowal by him in charity, money, jewels and other property to the value of fifty lakhs of rupees; his directions to send the well-known *Koh-i-noor*, to the temple of Jagannath at Puri and other events connected with his death. Instructions by the Governor-General to Lt. Col. Wade to secure the allegiance of the Sikh Sardars to Maharaja Kharak Singh.
24. *For Misc. Vol.* No. 125.—Translation of Ghulam Sarwar's statement on the revenues of the states in Rajputana carried down to 1794-5 A.D. Contains also brief historical accounts of the states.
25. *For. Cons.* 24 Sep. 1858, No. 155.—Contains a statement on Rupees current in Rajputana.

(b) *Documents on Jaipur.*

The sixteen documents exhibited under this head throw a flood of light on British relations with Jaipur, the financial condition of the State and the measures taken by the State for the improvement of administration. Nos. 26-28 contain two Minutes by Henry Thoby Prinsep on the policy to be adopted by the Government of India towards Jaipur and the Governor-General's observations thereon. These incidentally contain many of the arguments used for and against the question of "Paramountcy". No. 30 relates to the passage of *Dak* from Jaipur and Alwar unmolested through British territories; Nos. 31-32 contain Auckland's Minute on the financial condition of the State, and a note by the Secretary to the Government of India on the same subject. No. 33 refers to the establishment of the Courts of Civil and Criminal Justice in Jaipur and contains observations on the police in the Capital. Nos. 34-35 relate to the inursion of the Gwalior troops led by Tantia Topi in Jaipur, the mysterious circulation of baskets of bread and the measures taken to prevent it. Lord Dalhousie pays a tribute to the character of the minor Maharaja of Jaipur and expresses his satisfaction at the prosperous state of the finances in exhibit No. 36. Another exhibit (No. 37) refers to the suppression of two evils—slave-trade and child stealing. Nos. 38-39 contain a report on the hospital and dispensaries set up in Jaipur city and a proposal for the establishment of a medical school. No. 40 refers to the new device on Jaipur rupee and Gold "Mohur"; and the last (No. 41) gives a statement of the contributions made by several rulers, including the Maharaja of Jaipur towards famine relief in Bengal.

26. *For. Cons.* 11 Jan. 1836, No. 1.—Mr. H. T. Prinsep's minute on the policy to be adopted towards Jaipur and areas over which the Jaipur ruler exercised limited sovereignty.

27. *For. Cons.* 11 Jan. 1836, No. 2.—Minute by the Governor-General in reply to the issues raised by Mr. Prinsep in his minute on the affairs of Jaipur and Shekawati. Bears the autograph of the Governor-General (Sir C. T. Metcalfe).
28. *For. Cons.* 11 Jan. 1836, No. 3.—Another minute by Mr. H. T. Prinsep in continuation of his earlier Minute and in reply to the Governor-General's observations. It bears note (holograph) from Metcalfe on the margin.
29. *For. Cons.* 16 Nov. 1835, Nos. 25-26.—Major Alves, report to the Secretary to the Government regarding the surrender of two notorious dacoits. Doongjee and Gooljee and the terms offered to them.
30. *For. Cons.* 20 June 1838, No. 54.—From W. H. Maenaghten, Secretary to the Government of India to Lt. Col. Alves, Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, agreeing to the right of the rulers of Jaipur and Alwar to send their *Dak* unmolested through the British territories provided no undue advantage is taken of the indulgence in question.
31. *For. Cons.* 13 Nov. 1839, No. 23.—Minute by the Governor-General (Auckland) on the financial condition of Jaipur State.
32. *For. Cons.* 13 Nov. 1839, No. 22.—Note by the officiating Secretary to the Government of India on the financial condition of Jaipur State. Contains also his observations on Major Ross's report on Jaipur affairs.
33. *For. Cons.* 13 July 1840, No. 42.—From Assistant Agent to the Governor-General. Contains Major Thoresby's report on the two courts established at Jaipur for the administration of civil and criminal justice and on the police stationed at capital.
34. *For. Cons.* 16 Sep. 1859, Nos. 330—33.—From Political Agent at Jaipur, stating that basket of bread was being mysteriously circulated in the city, and the measures taken to prevent the circulation of bread. Contains a translation of the note, which is reminiscent of the *Chapatties* being circulated during the Mutiny.
35. *For. Cons.* 17 Sep. 1858, Nos. 165—67 & K. W.—From Agent-General in Rajputana, describing the objective of the Gwalior troops led by Tantia Topi in Jaipur and the measures taken for the safety of Jaipur territories.
36. *For. Cons.* 8 Aug. 1851, No. 58.—Minute by Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General, expressing his satisfaction at the prosperous state of the finances of Jaipur during the minority of the Maharajah. In view of the excellent report regarding the character and conduct of the ruler the Governor-General gives his consent to Col. Low's suggestion of giving the fullest authority to the Jaipur ruler over his territories.
37. *For. Cons.* 7 Aug. 1847, No. 822.—From Lt. Col. J. Sutherland approving of the abolition of slave-trade and measures taken to prevent child-stealing by the Jaipur Council of Regency.

38. *For. Cons.* 18 July 1846, Nos. 183—86.—From Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, containing a report on the hospital and dispensaries established in Jaipur City. This institution was a revival of a hospital said to have been originally established by Maharaja Jai Singh, the founder of the city of Jaipur.
39. *For. Cons.* 18 July 1846, No. 187.—From the Secretary to the Government of India to the Medical Board. Contains a proposal for the establishment of Medical School at Jaipur with the help of some Sub-Assistant Surgeons from the College at Calcutta.
40. *For. Cons.* 24 Sep. 1858, No. 164—66.—Contain references to the new device on Jaipur Rupee and Gold Mohur and say that the difference between them exists simply in the device and none whatever in the positive value of either currency.
41. *For. Cons. General 'B'*, Aug. 1874, Nos. 245—252, with 3 K.W.S.—Indian Princes and Chiefs including the Maharaja of Jaipur, thanked by the Queen and Viceroy for their contributions towards famine relief in Bengal.

(c) *Promotion of Education in India.*

The documents displayed under this head are intended to give an idea to the scholars about the wealth of materials available in the National Archives concerning educational matters. No. 42 contains the report of the first regular Committee appointed by the Company's Government for formulating a co-ordinated policy on educational matters in this country.

Nos. 43—45 record the Minute of Thomas Babington Macaulay, Lord William Bentinck, Henry Prinsep, Alexander Ross and Lord Auckland, laying down a systematic State Educational Policy in the years 1835—39, which is considered to be the foundation of our present educational system. No. 46 deals with the vexed question of salaries to be paid to teachers and proposes a scheme for improving the position and prospects of the members of the Indian Educational Service.

Documents numbered 47—50 contain an able exposition of the State Policy, concerning promotion of the female education in this country ; extension of female education in the Sialkot District of the Punjab, state of female education in Bombay and Oudh during the years 1866—70.

Nos. 51—53 record minutes by the Governor-General and the members of his Council on the promotion of European literature and science among Indians. These also contain minutes by W.H. Macnaghten, H. Shakespear and H. T. Prinsep on the same subject and the measures approved by the General Committee of Public Instruction (1835). Nos. 54—56 record the observations of the Governor-General on the Muhammadan College at Calcutta. They also emphasise the need of instruction in Schools and Colleges through the medium of Indian languages. Nos. 57—60 deal with the promotion of Medical, Engineering and other technical subjects and contain a proposal for the establishment of a School of Art and Industry at Lahore.

42. *For. Misc.* 1823, No. 178.—Report of the Committee appointed by the Government for public instruction in India.

43. *Home Pub. Cons.* 1835, Mar. 7, No. 19 & K.W.—Original Minutes and notes on the question of State Educational Policy by Lord William Bentinck, Thomas Babington Macaulay, Alexander Ross, Henry Thoby Prinsep and Col. Morison. The marginal notes (in pencil) on Prinsep's minute are from Macaulay.

44. *Home Pub. Cons.* 7 Mar. 1835, No. 15.—Copy of the Minute by the Hon'ble T. B. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay on Indian education, dated, 2 February 1835.
45. *Home. G.G. Cons.* 24 Nov. 1839, No. 10.—Lord Auckland's Minute on the promotion of education in India.
46. *Edu. Cons.* 3 Jun. 1864, Nos. 1—7.—Scheme for improving the position and prospects of the members of the Educational Service in India.
47. *Pub. Cons.* 11 Apr. 1850, Nos. 74—77. & K. IV.—Minutes of Lord Dalhousie and the Members of his Council on the promotion of Indian female education.
48. *Edu. Cons.* (A) Mar. 1866 Nos. 39—41.—Extension of female Education in the Sialkot District, Punjab.
49. *Edu. Cons.* (A) Dec. 1867, Nos. 10-11.—Female Education in Bombay.
50. *Edu. Cons.* 13 Aug. 1870, No. 2.—Female Education in Oudh.
51. *Pub. Cons.* 7 Mar. 1835, Nos. 7—19.—Minutes of the Governor-General and Members of Council on the promotion of European Literature and Science among Indians.
52. *Pub. Cons.* 22 Apr. 1835, Nos. 10, 10A & 11.—Minutes of Messrs. W.H. Maenaghton, H. Shakespear and H.T. Prinsep, Members of the General Committee of Public Instruction on the promotion of Education, European Literature and Science among Indians.
53. *Pub. Cons.* 3 Jan. 1835, Nos. 6—8.—Propositions adopted by the General Committee of Public Instruction on the spread of English Education.
54. *Pub. Cons.* 18 Apr. 1781 No. 6.—Minute of the Governor-General giving a good account of a *Madrasah* or Muhammadan College, which has been started in Calcutta, and which is in great need of suitable accommodation and funds, proposing that the Company should erect a building for the College and suitably endow it, and enclosing an estimate of the cost of such building with a plan of the same.
55. *Edu. Cons.* (A) Sep. 1867, Nos. 19-20.—Memorial from the British Indian Association, North Western Provinces, for diffusion of European knowledge among the people through the Vernacular languages.
56. *Edu. Cons.* (A) Dec. 1867, Nos. 12—14.—Employment of Vernacular Languages of India as medium for conveying to the Natives a higher order of education.
57. *Pub. Cons.* 29 Mar. 1837, No. 11.—Revised syllabus suggested by the Council of the Medical College, Calcutta.
58. *Rev. Cons.* 25 Sep. 1837, Nos. 6—11.—School for the Education of Natives as Surveyors.
59. *Pub. Cons.* 19 Apr. 1850, Nos. 3-4 & K.W.—Promotion of the study of Civil Engineering in India.
60. *Edu. Cons.* 19 Nov. 1864, Nos. 13—15.—Establishment of a School of Art and Industry at Lahore.

(d) *Selected Documents in Oriental Languages.*

Nineteen documents are exhibited under this head which show that during the period of India's disintegration and decay in the eighteenth century, the East India Company steadily gained supremacy. No. 61 gives in a consolidated and continuous form the *farmans* granted to the Company for trade in India, particularly Bengal and Orissa during 1633—1712. The Peshwa (Narayan Rao) promises to abide by the terms of the Treaty with the Company in No. 64. Nos. 66-67 relate to the war against Tipu Sultan and the subsequent negotiations for peace. In No. 70 Nana Farnavis reports the death of the Peshwa Madhav Rao II (27 Oct. 1795). No. 74 refers to British naval success in Egypt and the congratulations of the Maharaja of Nepal thereon. Maharaja Ranjit Singh offers facilities to Elphinstone on his way back from Peshawar in the last document (No. 79).

61. *Pers. Misc. Vol. No. 1.*—*Farmans* relating to the English trade in India, particularly in Bengal and Orissa, 1633—1712. These are grants or orders made by Muhammadan rulers and Governors and comprise rotographs of eight documents obtained from the India Office, with English translations.
62. *Pers. 10 May 1788, No. 32.*—From Madhhji Bhonsla. In view of impending war with the French, the Governor-General sent under Colonel Leslie reinforcements to assist the Bombay Government and requested the Bhonsla to let them pass through his territories. The Bhonsla informs the Governor-General that he had taken necessary measures for the safe passage of the Army.
63. *Pers. 15 Nov. 1778, No. 117.*—From Bahu Begum, mother of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah. Complains against the behaviour of her son. Seeks the assistance of the Governor-General in sending the coffin of her late husband (Nawab Shuja-ud Daulah) to Karbala.
64. *Pers. 12 Dec. 1778, No. 138.*—From the Peshwa (Narayan Rao) says that he will stick to the terms of the treaty and asks the Governor-General to do the same.
65. *Pers. OR, Aug. 12, 1789, No. 175.*—From Haider Beg Khan, a minister of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah. Expresses pleasure at the recovery of the King of England from his illness. Sends a *nazar* of 101 gold mohurs to be forwarded to the King of England and Rs. 10,000 to be distributed among the poor. Bears the seal of Haider Beg Khan.
66. *Pers. OR, Mar. 8, 1790, No. 50.*—From His Majesty Shah 'Alam, Mughal Emperor. Has learnt from the Governor-General's letter that he is leaving for Madras with a view to punishing Tipu Sultan for his invading Travancore, the territory of an ally of the English. Bears the seal of His Majesty.
67. *Pers. OR, Feb. 12, 1792, No. 114.*—From Tipu Sultan. Says that he has deputed his vakils to the Governor-General in order to negotiate a treaty of peace with the East India Company. Bears the seal of Tipu Sultan.
68. *Pers. OR, 6 Oct. 1795, No. 271.*—From the Raja of Travancore. Has learnt from his (Governor-General's) letter that the Dutch Government have directed their Governor to deliver up Cochin to the English. The Governor seems to ignore the commands of his masters and will therefore have to be punished. Bears the Raja's seal and signature.

69. *Pers. OR.* 5 Nov. 1795, No. 312.—From Munni Begam. Sends a letter to Sir John Shore for transmission to Warren Hastings, congratulating the latter on the occasion of his acquittal from impeachment. Bears the Begam's seal.
70. *Pers. OR* 23 Nov. 1795, No. 353.—From Nana Furnavis. Reports that Madho Rao II, Peshwa, died on 13 Rabi 11 (27 Oct.) in consequence of the injuries received from a fall from his balcony. Bears Nana's seal.
71. *Pers. OR,* 5 Feb. 1798, No. 88.—From Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia. Says that by order of the Peshwa he seized and imprisoned Nana Furnavis on 12 Rajab. (31st December 1797). Bears the Maharaja's seal.
72. *Pers. OR,* 10 Feb. 1799, No. 19.—From Nizam Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad. Intimates that he has made over to Captain Kirkpatrick copies of the correspondence which passed between him and Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the Nizam.
73. *Pers. OR,* 13 Feb. 1799, No. 25.—From Nawab Saadat Ali Khan of Oudh. Intimates that Vazir Ali Khan after having killed Mr. Cherry and four other gentlemen at Banaras has absconded. Bears the Nawab's seal. 1799 A.D.
74. *Pers. OR,* 28 Sept. 1799, No. 286.—From Maharaja of Nepal. Congratulates the Governor-General on the success of the English Fleet in Egypt. Has noted with pleasure that the Sultan of Turkey and the Czar of Russia have joined the English as active allies. Bears the Maharaja's seal.
75. *Pers. OR,* 1801, No. 254.—From Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala to the Governor-General received 15 Oct. 1801. Expresses gratification at the receipt of a reply to his letter from his Lordship regarding his attachment and devotion to the British Government. (The border is illuminated with decorative motifs in gold).
76. *Pers. OR,* 28 Dec. 1802, No. 548.—From Krishma Raja Wodeyar of Mysore. Offers congratulations on the conclusion of treaty of peace between England and France and on the release of Egypt from the hands of the French. Sends a present of certain articles on the occasion.
77. *Pers. OR,* 16 Sep. 1806, No. 701.—Memorial (in Persian) from the Zemindars, Merchants and the principal inhabitants of Hoogly, received September 16, 1806, protesting against the abolition of the civil and criminal courts of justice from Hoogly and requesting that the integrity of the District may be maintained. Bears the signatures and seals in Persian, Nagri and Bengali characters.
78. *Pers. OR,* March, 1809, No. 233.—Letter (in Burmese with Persian translation) from the Viceroy of Pegu. Requests that 5,000 visas of saltpetre and 200 guns may be sent to him. (The border is richly illuminated with floral decorations).
79. *Pers. OR,* 28 Jul. 1809, No. 400.—From Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Ruler of Lahore. Says that in accordance with the Governor-General's instructions the Maharaja will accord every possible assistance to Mr. Elphinstone when the latter passes through his territory on his way back from Peshawar. Bears the Maharaj's seal.

80. *Pers. OR*, 10 Dec. 1814. No. 892.—From His Majesty Akbar II. Sends a sword belonging to his ancestor, Emperor Aurangzeb, to the Governor-General as a present.

(c) *Preservation of Records.*

Exhibits 81 to 118 illustrate the damage done to documents by natural agencies like light, heat, humidity etc., by insect pests and by careless handling; these also show the various methods, employed by archivists to rehabilitate such documents. The exhibit No. 81 shows various materials used in repairing documents. Attention is drawn especially to exhibit No. 94 which shows the evil effects of bad repairing with tracing papers; to No. 90 and 91 which show the latest method of repair viz: "lamination" and the machine used by the National Archives of U.S.A. for this purpose. The Nos. 97 to 104 show some of the insects found in books and the proof of their destructive ability. No. 105 to 111 explain how the faded writings are revived by physical and chemical methods: Special device to protect seal is illustrated by No. 117.

Microfilming is at present one of the most effective methods of photographic duplication and concentration of records. These exhibits are actual microstat copies taken by the microstat camera shown in the exhibit No. 114.

81. Samples of Repairing and Binding Materials. Tissue paper, Ledger paper, Oiled paper, cellulose acetate foil, chiffon, Binding cloth, Art canvas, Leather, Dextrin paste, Leather preservative mixture, needle and slice.
82. Folded document—The folds can be clearly seen. Previously documents were kept folded in bundles. Each bundle was placed between two 5-ply boards and tied by logines.
83. Decayed condition of a document. The paper has deteriorated to a great extent. The corrosive action of ink is also shown.
84. Document in a brittle condition.
85. A brittle document which has been flattened.
86. A document repaired with hand made paper.
87. A document repaired with tissue paper.
88. A document repaired with chiffon (fine silk).
89. An inlayed document. Inlaying is a highly technical and rather slow process of repairing.
90. Document repaired with Cellulose acetate foil. It is claimed that laminated document can last for centuries if properly preserved.
91. A photograph of the Laminating machine by which records are laminated.
92. A document in which a margin of half the paper is left. There are lots of old documents which have been written with half margin.
93. A half-margin document which has been repaired with hand made paper.
94. A manuscript illustrating the evil effects of repairing documents with tracing paper. The writing has become illegible.
95. Palm-leaf manuscripts in a very brittle and decayed condition.

96. Palm-leaf manuscripts repaired with cellulose acetate foil by the application of a plastic adhesive.
97. A manuscript bored by insects.
98. Cover board (made of straw) of volumes bored by 'Gastrallus Indicus'. 2 photos.
99. *Gastrallus Indicus*.—Known popularly as 'Bookworm'.
100. A document eaten up by white ants.
101. Termites—their different stages.
102. Destruction of a printed page by silver fish.
103. Silver-fish—whose infestation in books and documents is so common in India.
104. Vacuum Fumigatorium—an excellent piece of equipment to fight against all kinds of insect and fungus infestation. (Three views).
105. A manuscript whose writing has faded to such an extent that it cannot be deciphered.
106. The same manuscript with its writing revived by Chemical means (i.e. by exposing the manuscript to Sulphuretted Hydrogen).
107. Another manuscript whose writing has also faded to a great extent.
108. The writing of the same manuscript revived by exposing the same to ultra violet light.
109. Palimpsest—(Left)—Photographed in ordinary light (Right)—Photographed in ultra violet light. The right hand figure shows a writing underneath (running in a horizontal direction) which has been carefully abraded. An ultra-violet radiation has revealed it.
110. An ultra violet lamp which is being used in the Imperial Record Department for deciphering faded writing. The same light is also used for various paper testing methods.
111. Top :—An ordinary photograph of an old print (carbon ink) which has been censored (by iron gall ink) :— Below :—Infra-red photograph of the censored portion.
112. Backs of books (leather bound, starving for nourishment, are a familiar sight in every library)
113. Old Bindings :—(Left) before oiling and lacquering.
(Right) after oiling and lacquering.
114. View of the Microstat Camera installed in the Imperial Record Department for microfilming.
115. A view of the microfilm reader—by which micro film positives and negatives can be enlarged and read continuously.
116. A view illustrating the cleaning of the volumes and books in stack being cleaned by vacuum dust cleaner.
117. A document with a seal has been padded with blotting papers to preserve the seal.
118. An outside view of the Imperial Record Building.

II. FROM THE JAIPUR GOVERNMENT, JAIPUR.

1. *Nishan* from Princee Shaharyar to Maharaja Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 23rd Rabi-ul-awwal, 1032 (1622 A.D.) desiring the Maharaja to render every facility to Lokmandas who has been appointed a Kirori at Dausa.

2. *Farman* from Empress Noorjahan to Maharaja Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 4 Shawwal 1031 H (1622 A.D.) desiring the Maharaja to send the money of the lease of Amber through Mohammad Hashim.

3. *Farman* from Emperor Jahangeer to Maharaja Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 14 Aban, 19 Regnal year of Emperor Jahangeer (1624 A.D.) expressing pleasure at the Maharaja's conquest reported to His Majesty by Prince Parwez and Khani-Khana. Sends Khilat to the Maharaja.

4. *Farman* from Emperor Jahangeer to Maharaja Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 6 Shaharyus San 20 (1625 A.D.) informing the Maharaja to obey Khan Jahan who has been appointed a tutor to the Prince and the Commander-in-Chief in place of Khan-i-Khana.

5. *Nishan* from Prince Khurram to Maharaja Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 26 Razab 1035 (1626 A.D.) informing the Maharaja that he (Prince) always backed the Rajputs and has got a great faith in them. He also adds that the Maharaja is in such a favour as Maharaja Man Singhji was.

6. *Farman* from Emperor Shahjahau to Maharaja Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 22 Bahman, 10 Regnal year (1636 A.D.) informing that his meritorious services rendered in the conquest of Nagpur Fort have been reported by Khan Dauran and desiring him to attend the Royal Court with Khan soon.

7. *Nishan* from Prince Dara Shikoh to Maharaja Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 9 Ziqad 1048 H (1639 A.D.) informing about his arrival at Rawalpindi.

8. *Nishan* from Princess Jahanara to Maharaja Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 1 Rabi-ul-Akhir, 1050 (1640 A.D.) desiring the Maharaja to identify whether Hem Raj is the real son of Raja Satra Sal and asking to report it to Sultan Misar Begam so that he may be awarded Khilat and Mansab.

9. *Farman* from Emperor Aurangzeb dated 19 Rabi-us-Sani 1075 (1664 A.D.) informs that Mansabdars deputed at Deccan were directed to obey Mirza Raja Jai Singhji appointed to the Command of the Royal Forces deputed to chastise Shivaji and to collect Peshkash from Adil Khan of Bijapur.

10. *Farman* from Emperor Aurangzeb to Maharaja Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 28 Shawal 1075 (1665 A.D.) appreciating the services of the Maharaja rendered in the capture of Rudra Mal Fort, in the siege of Purandhar Fort and the suppression of Shivaji.

11. *Farman* from Emperor Aurangzeb to Maharaja Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 14 Rabi-ul-Alwwal 1076 H. (1665 A.D.) acknowledging the receipt of the keys of 9 Forts of Shivaji in addition to 23 lately conquered by the Maharaja and desiring him to make necessary arrangements for the safe-guards of these Forts.

12. *Farman* from Emperor Aurangzeb to Maharaja Ramsinghji dated 5 Shawwal 1079 (1668 A.D.) approving the Maharaja's expedition against the Zamindars of Assam and desiring him to expel Ferozy Khan and Islam Khan from Gaubati.

13. *Nishan* from Prince Dara Shikoh to Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 20 Rabi-ul-Alwwal 1056 H. (1646 A.D.) informing the Maharaja that Kanwar Ram Singhji is with His Majesty and that he (Prince) would call the younger Kanwar to him, and intimating about the grant of Mansab of 1,000 to Kanwar Ram Singhji.

14. *Nishan* from Prince Dara Shikoh to Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 24 Ramzan 1064 (1654 A.D.). Acknowledging the receipt of an elephant and horses sent as present for Suleman Shikoh and sending one sword, one dagger and an elephant as a present on behalf of the Prince (Sulehman Shikoh) to the Maharaja.

15. *Nishan* from Prince Dara Shikoh to Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 18 Rabi-us-Sani 1065 H. (1655 A.D.) sympathising with the Maharaja on his receiving a wound by a spear and reporting about his welfare.

16. *Nishan* from Prince Aurangzeb to Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 18 Rabi-us-Sani 1065 H. (1655 A.D.) acknowledging the receipt of the Maharaja's letter of congratulations for the conquest of Bidar Fort.

17. *Farman* from Emperor Shahjahan to Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 18 Rabi-us-Sani 1068 H. (1657 A.D.) informing the Maharaja that the copy of Prince Shujah's Arazdasant addressed to the heir apparent has been sent to Suleman Shikoh and the Maharaja. Desires the Maharaja to resubmit his report in details when the affairs of Subah Behar are satisfactorily settled.

18. *Nishan* from Prince Sipher Shikoh to Mirza Raja Jai Singhji congratulating the Maharaja on his victory over Prince Shuja conveyed to him by Fakner Khan.

19. *Nishan* from Prince Dara Shikoh to Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 13 Shaban 1068 informing the Maharaja that both the Princes (Aurangzeb and Murad) have left Ujjain for Northern India.

20. *Manshur* from Prince Aurangzeb to Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 11 Ramzan 1068 informing the Maharaja about the defeat of Dara and his flight towards Lahore.

21. *Manshur* from Prince Aurangzeb to Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated 11 Ramzan 1068 informing the Maharaja of his arrival at Mathura on the 7th and saying that Shekh Mir and Diler Khan have been sent in pursuit of Dara.

22. *Farman* from Emperor Aurangzeb to Mirza Raja Jai Singhji dated San 1070 H. (1659 A.D.) approving of the scheme for the chastisement of Bundalas and directing the Maharaja to reach Poona to relieve Maharaja Jaswant Singhji so that the latter may attend the Royal Court.

23. *Nishan* from Prince Shah Alam to Maharaja Ram Singhji dated 12 Rabi-us-Sani 1088 H. (1677 A.D.) desiring the Maharaja not to make haste in coming as he himself is coming but remain engaged in the duties entrusted to him.

24. *Nishan* from Prince Shah Alam to Maharaja Ram Singhji dated 17 Moharram 1089 H. (1677 A.D.) appreciating the services of the Maharaja rendered in the good administration of the Lamganath in Ghazni.

25. *Nishan* from Prince Muazzam to Maharaja Ram Singhji dated 9 Jamadi-ul-Alwwal desiring the Maharaja to remain at Kattal till further orders.

26. *Farman* from Emperor Aurangzeb to Maharaja Ram Singhji dated 28 Rabi-us-Sani 1090 H. (1679 A.D.) desiring the Maharaja to render every facility to Shahamat Khan deputed to chastise the Ghilzis.

27. *Nishan* from Prince Mohammad Akbar to Maharaja Ram Singhji dated 25 Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1093 H. (1682 A.D.) informing about the conferment of the title of 'Mirza Raja' and all other Mansabs etc., upon the Maharaja as enjoyed by his father and the title of 'Kanwar' upon Bishan Singhji. The Maharaja was instigated to rise against Emperor Aurangzeb.

28. *Sanad* dated 11 Shaban 1060 (1650 A.D.) regarding the grant of 1,11,45,600 Dams in Jagir to Mirza Raja Jai Singhji.

29. *Sanad* dated 21 Ziqad 1060 (1650 A.D.) regarding grant of a further increase of one thousand Sehaspas and Daospa horses in place of ordinary ones to Mirza Raja Jai Singhji.

30. *Arazdasht* from Keshorai to Maharaja Bishan Singhji dated 27 Ramzan 1102 (1691 A.D.) informing that he had reported to the Emperor about the good services rendered by the Maharaja in suppressing the Jats and conquering the Sonkhar Fort.

31. *Arazdasht* from Meghraj to Maharaja Bishan Singhji dated 25 Razzab 1103 (1692 A.D.) informing that the good services rendered by Hari Singh in besieging the Awarar Fort and massacre of Jats were reported to the Emperor, who conferred a Khilat and an elephant upon the Maharaja.

32. *Arazdasht* to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singhji dated 1118 H. (1706 A.D.) reporting the Maharaja that Kanwarji was not following the writers instructions and was not doing according to his will.

33. *Arazdasht* from Jaggiwandas to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singhji dated 5 Zilhij 1118 (1707 A.D.) reporting that Emperor died on 28 Ziqad and Amir-ul-Umra had sent 70 Sowars to bring Prince Azam Shah, who reached there on the 29 Ziqad.

34. *Arazdasht* from Jaggiwandas to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singhji dated 21 Safar 1119 (1707 A.D.) intimating that Mansab of 7,000 and the title of Mirza Raja has been granted to the Maharaja.

35. *Arazdasht* dated Phalgun Badi 8th St. 1714 (1658 A.D.) informs that a battle with Shahjada Shuja was fought on Sawan Badi 7th in which the Maharaja's army came out victorious. The Prince ran away from the battle field leaving his elephant, drum, Nishan and possibly his canopy. At this news the Emperor was much pleased and increased the Maharaja's Mansab (1,000 Zat 1,000 Sowars) and that of the Maharajkumar.

36. *Hindi letter* from Prakaldas to Dewan Kalyandas dated Jeth Badi 9th St. 1723 (1666 A.D.) informing that the Emperor wanted to kill Shivaji. When the Maharaj Kumar came to know of it he told the Emperor to kill him and his son first and then kill Shivaji. The Emperor asked the Maharaj Kumar to take Shivaji's responsibility and to sign for that who is the Maharaj Kumar signed. Shivaji was then placed in the charge of the Maharaj Kumar.

37. *Hindi letter* from Prakaldas to Dewan Kalyandas informing about Shivaji's visit to the Royal Court. A detailed account of his route and retinue is given. Shivaji and his son presented nazars to the Emperor but Shivaji was enraged when he was disgraced in the open court. Account as to how he was being pacified and consoled is given in this letter.

38. *Arazdasht* from Keshorai to Maharaja Bishan Singhji dated Jeth Sudi 3 St. 1745 (1688 A.D.) informing about the sending of Raj Tilak Dastoor by the Emperor and grant of Mansab of two thousand Zat and two thousand Sowards, Doaspa, Togh, Naqqara, Royal elephant, Siropao and horse to the Maharaja.

39. *Kharita* from Maharana Sangram Singh to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singhji dated Posh Sudi 2 St. 1777 (1720 A.D.) informs that the *Kharita* contains along with other complimentary things a casual reference about the abolition of Jaziya.

40. *Kharita Hindi* from Maharaja Anoop Singhji of Bikaner to Maharaja Ram Singhji dated Chait Badi 11 St. 1738 (1682 A.D.) intimating that the writer with Hasan Ali and Kanwarji have encamped at Nasik saying that further details will be made known to the Maharaja by Hari Singh.

41. *Arazdasht* from Durgadas Rathore to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singhji dated Jeth Sudi 11 St. 1765 (1708 A.D.) recommending the case of Dhiraj Singh Shekhawat to the Maharaja in a dispute between Dhiraj Singh and Jai Singh and Udaisingh.

42. *Kharita Hindi* from Maharaja Ajit Singhji and Kanwar Abhaisinghji to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singhji dated Posh Sudi 13 St. 1766 (1709 A.D.) acknowledging the receipt of the Dewan's Kagaz (letter) and Durgadas Rathore's Arzi saying that further details will be explained by Daudat Singh and Shah Nain Sukh. Also requests that all preparations should be made ready.

43. *Kharita Hindi* from Maharaja Ajit Singhji and Kanwar Abhaisinghji to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singhji dated 2nd Baisakh Sudi 7th St. 1765 (1708 A.D.) informing the Maharaja about the case of Sambhar.

44. *Kharita Hindi* from Maharaja Arjun Singhji of Kotah to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singhji dated Asvi Sudi 7 St. 1777 (1720 A.D.) thanking the Maharaja for sending Shambhuran Joshi to Sa'im Singh and the khinchis on the writer's business.

45. *Kharita Hindi* from Maharaja Udat Singhji of Orchha to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singhji dated St. 1778 (1721 A.D.) thanking the Maharaja for postponing the armies to be sent to Bungas.

46. *Kharita Hindi* from Maharana Sangram Singhji of Udaipur to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singhji dated Kartik Sudi 4 St. 1777 (1720 A.D.) informing about the death of Hasan Ali, that has been reported to the Emperor. The writer invites the opinion of the addressee in this connection.

47. *Kharita Hindi* from Maharana Sangram Singhji of Udaipur to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singhji dated Kartik Sudi 9 St. 1777 (1720 A.D.) informing about the appointment of Pancholi Rai Chand as Musahib by the Maharani Sahiba.

48. *Kharita Hindi* from Maharana Sangram Singhji of Udaipur to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singhji dated Posh Badi 1 St. 1777 (1720 A.D.) regarding the despatch of winter dresses for Maji Sahiba Shri Sisodani.

49. *Kharita Hindi* from Maharaja Chhatra-Sahi to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singhji dated Chait Sudi 2 St. (1778 A.D.) intimating that due to illness etc., he could not come to Amber, and he will come there with five other Rajas.

50. *Kharita Hindi* from Maharaja Chhatra-Salji to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singhji dated Baisakh Badi 8 St. 1778 (1721 A.D.) intimating about the removal of the Turks by Rao Ram Chandra of Datiya, Rajaji of Orchha and the writer himself.

51. *Kharita Hindi* from Kanwar Gaj Singhji of Raghogarh to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singhji dated Adhan Badi 13 St. 1778 (1721 A.D.) informing that Raja Ayamalji will place before him in detail the news of this place.

52. *Code Letter Hindi* from Raghunath and Keshodas to Maharaj Sawai Jai Singhji intimating that internal private affairs of the Emperor's Court at Delhi and those of the palace.

53. *Code Letter Hindi* intimating the Maharaja about the affairs of the Emperor's Court at Delhi.

III. FROM THE MAHARAJA'S PUBLIC LIBRARY, JAIPUR

1. *Tarikh Haft Iqlim* by Amin Ahmed. Written in 1055 A.H. *Persian Manuscript*. (History of seven kingdoms.). Gives an account of the rulers of various states and kingdoms including notices of eminent court poets and authors and describes the social life of each age. Written in ornate style of classical Persian.

2. *Tarikh Almigri* by Mohd. Sagi. Written in 1113 A.H. *Persian Manuscripts*. It is a History of Aurangzeb, throws light on his administration, comprises historical records and the Emperor's letters to Governors of Provinces, written in classical oriental style.

II. From the Diagambar Jain Bhandar, Amber (Jaipur)

1. *Uttara-Purana* by Pushpendanta of 8th century written in Apabhramsa, manuscripts dating 1391 V.S. (1334 A.D.). The Prasasti mentions the ruler of Yoginipura (Delhi) as Sultan Muhammad Shah.

2. *Shattrimshadalochanadandaka* written in Apabhramsa, manuscripts dating 1399 V.S. (1342 A.D.). The Prasasti mentions Yoginipura (Delhi) and its ruler Sultan Muhammad Shah.

3. *Mahapurana* by Pushapadanta of 8th century written in Apabhramsa, manuscripts dating 1461 V.S. (1404 A.D.). The Prasasti mentions Yoginipura and its ruler Sultan Muhammad Shah.

4. *Shatkarmopadesa* by Amarakirti manuscripts dating 1479 V. S. (1422 A.D.) written in Apabhramsa. The Prasasti mentions Gopachala Durga and its ruler Sri Virammadeva.

5. *Sripalacharita* written in Apabhramsa by Narayasena, manuscripts dating 1512 V.S. (1455 A.D.). The Prasasti mentions Maharajadhiraja Doongarsingh of Ravara (Ravara-Pattana).

6. *Padmapurana* written in Apabhramsa, manuscripts dating 1541 V.S. (1484 A.D.). The Prasasti mentions the name of Sultan Bahlol.

7. *Kaumudi-Kathanaka* written in Sanskrit, manuscripts dating 1560 V.S. (1503 A.D.). The Prasasti mentions Khadyur Durga and its Rao Akhayarajadeva Hada of the Naravada Rajya.

8. *Sulochanacharita* written in Apabhramsa by Gani Devasena, manuscripts dating 1587 V.S. (1530 A.D.). The Prasasti mentions the Ranthambhor fortress as the abode of the writer and its ruler Maharajadhiraja Vikramaditya.

9. *Śrāvaka-chara* written by Śrīchandra in Apabhramsa, manuscripts dating 1589 V.S. (1532 A.D.). The Prasasti mentions Champavati Nagar (Chastu) in the Jaipur State as ruled by Jagmal Rai and his son Ishyaradas.

10. *Yashodharcharita* written by Pushpadanta of the 8th century in Apabhramsa, the manuscripts dating 1612 V.S. (1555 A.D.). The Prasasti mentions Takshakagarh Durga and its ruler Maharajadhiraja Sri Ram Chandra.

11. *Sagaradharmamiti-a-tippani* written in Sanskrit, manuscripts dating 1614 V.S. (1557 A.D.). The Prasasti mentions Takshakagarh under the Maharajadhiraja Kalyanmal.

12. *Pravachanasara* written in Hindi by Jodhraj Godhraj in 1726 V.S. (1669 A.D.). The Prasasti gives the description of Sanganer as also of Mansingh I, Mirza Raja Jayasingh and Ramsingh I.

13. *Dilaram Vilas* written by Dilaram in Hindi in 1768 V.S. (1711 A.D.). The Prasasti describes the rulers of Bundi and the city of Bundi. With this the poet gives his own lineage.

14. *Harivamsapurana* by Nemichandra written in Hindi in 1769 V.S. (1712 A.D.). The Prasasti describes Amber and mentions Sawai Jai Singh as its ruler.

15. *Buddhivilasa* by Bakhat Ram Shah written in Hindi in 1827 V.S. (1770 A.D.). In the introductory part the poet describes Dhundhar (Jaipur State), and gives short sketch of the rulers of Amber and Jaipur upto the reign of Prithvisinghji Maharaj. Further he describes Jaipur as planned and populated by Maharaja Jai Singh (Sawai), and also as developed by his descendants upto his time.

V. FROM THE FINE ART GALLERY (POTHIKHANA), JAIPUR.

1. Brass Vishnu—300 Years old.

2. Jain Murti—1515 A.D.

3. Jain Murti—1746.

Paintings

4. Sawai Partabsingh Khawas Rorak—100 years old.

5. Bhaira Rag—180 years old.

6. A Lady—180 years old.

7. Radhakrishna (Rajput School)—80 years old.

8. A Lady with two attendants—180 years old.

9. Ramzan—80 years old.

3 series.

VI. FROM THE VILVERJI SCHOOL OF ARTS, JAIPUR

1. Madhumalati—a poetry story, Sambat 1861.

2. Gulistan with four illustrations of Kashmir.

3. Salawati—a Jain story with illustrations (16 pages)..

4. Sawalinga Sadabrat—a Hindi story with 48 illustrations.

5. A picture to illustrate Sardas's poetry.

6. A picture to illustrate Bihar's poetry.

7. A picture of Saraswati.

8. A framed picture of a Princess.

9. 7 pieces of terracotta.

VII. FROM THE STATE RECORDS DEPARTMENT, BARODA.

(1) Letter from the Mehta Nahna of Lunawada to Rani, Gahinabai of Baroda thanking for her kindness and sympathy and requests her to attend the marriage ceremony of his daughter Nawal. D|21-4-1799.

(2) Letter from Kesho Mairal to Kakasaheb,* Baroda General of the Gaikwad, from Patna in North Gujarat about the masonry work of the City walls of Patan. He informs that the brickwork is going as per his suggestion and that if new bricks are to be used, at least one crore of bricks will be required. D|15-5-1804.

(3) Letter from Kesho Mairal to Kakasaheb informing him to send marble stones for the construction of Vrindavan. He states that he tried hard to secure lead from Bombay and Surat but complains that the authorities do not allow it to go out of the city. He tells about the sikkai coins to be introduced newly instead of Sivashai, the exchange rate of which is Rs. 8|2|-per one hundred coins. He adds that he received no letter from Jaipur but expects in a couple of days. D|20-4-1805.

(4) Letter from Kesho Mairal to Kakasaheb about the letter from Jaipur informing that the Forces of Holkar are camping near Kota and that of English near Sabalganda. Mr. John (?) has come to Rampur and that the English have befriended the Bharatpur State. He adds that the Vohras of Siddhpur (N. Gujarat) received letters from Bombay relating to the compromise of the English with the forces of Holkar and other Indian States. D|16-5-1805.

(5) Letter from Kesho Mairal to Kakasaheb, informing his inability of sending Gulikand and Rose water for His Highness for want of Rose flowers but he assures to send the same from Jaipur. He adds further about the disturbances of Kolis in Kadi (Baroda State). D|14-6-1805.

(6) Letter from Kesho Mairal to Kakasaheb informing him about his sending of marble stones for Kedareshwar temple. He informs that he received news about the movements of the forces of Holkar at Ajmer, about the kingly presents from Scindia to Raja Mansing of Jodhpur at the time of his accession to the throne. D|20-6-1805.

(7) Letter from Kesho Mairal to Kakasaheb. The writer states that the forces of Holkar and Scindia are at Ajmer. Its strength is two lakhs and that a dispute of tribute is going on between them and the Jodhpur State. Jaipur as well as the Bharatpur State is siding the English. D|3-7-1805.

(8) Letter from Kesho Mairal to Kakasaheb. It states that the Holkar and the Scindia are camping at Shahpur. The English are at Tula-toda and that the two Sardars are going to attack the English in a couple of days. He adds that a vakil from the Jaipur State had been in their camp. D|7-7-1805.

(9) Letter from Maharaja Anandrao Gaikwad to Company Government informing that Raghunath Mahipatrao is sent with a force to help the Company Government in its Malva Campaign. D|14-8-1805.

(10) A yad giving information about the gifts of honour sent to Poona Durbar from the Baroda Government. D|18|1.

(11) Proclamation from Bajirao Raghunath Peshwa to all Kamavisdars and Sardars concerned, to arrest Trimakji Dengala, murderer of Ganvadhari Shastri, either alive or dead. The proclamation promises them with a reward of Rs. two lakhs and a village as inam worth Rs 1000|. D|1-6-1816.

(12) Letter from Maharaja Anandrao Gaikwad to Vithalrao Devaji, Suba in Kathiawad asking him to maintain peace and order at Dwarka and Bet (Byet) as per resolution from the Company Government. It is

*Kakasaheb—The Baroda General.

noteworthy that the H.H. asks the Suba to spend money about Rs. 1200/- to perform the necessary ritual ceremony to purify the temples as the temples were haunted by unauthorised persons. D|20-4-1816.

(13) A yad giving account of the visit of Mr. Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, to Baroda by land. It gives information about the halting places between Bombay and Baroda as well as the personalities who saw the Governor and the way in which the interview of Maharaja Sayajirao II and the Governor took place. The journey took full fifteen days to cover the distance of 244 miles. D|16-3-1820.

(14) A yad giving account of the installation of Deenendrasurya, a disciple of Jinendrasurya of Patan (Baroda State) in his place as the latter expired. D|5-6-1827.

(15) Adnyapatra from Maharaja Sayajirao II to Naro Raghunath Kama-visdar of Chandod (Baroda State) asking him to start a new mint of small coins at Chandod and to discontinue the old coins. D|25-10-1828.

(16) A yad giving account of the honouring of Paramhans Shakaracharya and Madhavacharya. D|20-12-1828.

(17) Letter from Maharaja Sayajirao II to Pindappa Naik of Surapur State informing him to send five pairs of vajramushthi wrestlers to Baroda as per letter to Jivanrao Malhar, a Vakil of Baroda to Poona. D|18-7-1829.

(18) Letter from Sayajirao Gaikwad II to Major General Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay lodging a strong complaint against the act of Resident at Baroda who is helping His Highness's antagonist. D|14-9-1829.

(19) An order of sanction to the expenditure of Rs. 1775/- for building the temple of Gayeshwar Mahadeo newly, at Kashi. D|22-6-1831.

(20) Letter from Govindrai Lalaji Maharaja of Shree Nathadwar to Sayajirao Gaikwad II informing H.H. about his sending of prasad to His Highness. D|19-6-1838.

(21) A yad giving sanction to the expenditure of Rs. 15,000 for repairing the Government Ghat and Haveli of the Gaikwad at Kashi (Benares), damaged owing to earth-quake. D|24-12-1847.

(22) Letter from Alexander Forbes, Secretary, Surat Atthavisi Literary Society to Maharaja Ganpatrao Gaikwad requesting H.H. to become leading member of the Society to open a big library preferably in His Highness's territory. D|26-6-1850.

VIII. FROM THE SARDAR MUSEUM JODHPUR STATE, JODHPUR.

(1-2) Two photographs of the two 4th century columns having the deeds of Krishna and Balarama carved on them. The first depicts 'Govardhana-dharna' (lifting of the Govardhana mountain), 'Navanita-bhoksana' (eating of butter), 'Sakatabhanga' (upturning of the cart) etc. while the second shows 'Dhenukavadha' (killing of the demon ass by Balarama), 'Kalyadamana' (Subjugation of the serpent kaliya) 'Pralabavadha' (killing of the demon bull Pralambha by Balaram), 'Arishtavadha' (killing of the demon horse Arishta) and 'Keshivadha' (killing of the demon Keshi).

(3) A photograph of two broken female figures from Kiradu (Marwar) belonging to the 12th century A.D.

(4) A photograph of seven coins of the early Arab invaders of Sind (8th century A.D.) viz (1) Amir Abdulla, (2) Wali Abdulla, (3) Muhammad, (4) Banu Amaraviya, (5) Banu Aliviya, (6) Banu Abdul Rehman and (7) Muhammad.

(5) A photograph of four water colour paintings depicting scenes from the Mahabharata, and prepared in the time of Emperor Akbar, (16th century A.D.).

(6) A photograph of water colour painting of the first half of the 18th century A.D. depicting a dance scene at night at the court of Maharaja Abhayasingh of Marwar.

(7) A photograph of a firman dated 1626 A.D. of Emperor Jahangir addressed to Raja Gajsinghji of Marwar containing order to kill Mahabatkhan and imprison his followers.

(8) A photograph of a firman dated 1708 A.D. of Prince Muizuddin Bahadurshah Alamgir, III (eldest son of Emperor Aurangzeb) bearing the impression of his palm, and addressed to Maharaja Ajitsinghji of Marwar, bestowing upon him a special robe of honour, Nishan (flag), Mansab (rank) of seven thousand Zat (personal) seven thousand Sawar (horse) and conferring hereditarily the territory of Jodhpur.

(9) A photograph of the letter of Maharaja Ajitsinghji of Marwar, stating that he and Sayyad brothers first imprisoned Emperor Farrukhsiyar (on 18th February, 1719 A.D.) and having seated Rafi-ud-darjat on the Mughal throne, got abolished the Jaziya (a tax levied on non-Muslims), and afterwards got murdered the Emperor (on 18 April 1729 A.D.).

(10) A photograph of the treaty dated 31st July 1788 A.D. proposed by the Sikh leaders of Khalasaji to Maharaja Bijyasinghji of Jodhpur, regarding friendship and mutual help.

(11-12) Two photographs of the obverse and reverse of a Sanad about the grant of Raisina or New Delhi in the hereditary Jagir of Maharaja Bijayasinghji of Jodhpur and issued by Emperor Shah Alam II on 7th August 1775 A.D.

IX. FROM THE SHARADASHERAM, YEOTMAL (BERAR).

1. A khareeta with a seal of the Emperor by Daulatrao Sindia as agent of the Peshva of Poona who was Wakeel-e-Mutalik of the emperor of Delhi.

2. A khareeta of Madho Rao Narayan Peshva of Poona with his steel in Balbodhi characters.

3. A grant of villages by Rayaji Bhonsle of Bhamb to a Brahmin of Mangrul Pir in Berar.

4. A letter of assurance by Kanhoji Bhonsle of Bhamb in Modi to the brahmins of Talegaon Dasasar in Berar for not molesting them through his army.

5. A letter of Raghuji I to his Sirsubhedar Naru Appa.

6. A grant of land by Raja Jagjeevan Rao Udaram to a Brahmin of Ansing in 1648 A.D. in the reign of Shah Jahan.

7. A grant of land by the famous Rai Baghan to a Brahmin of Ansing in 1658 A.D. the year of Aurangzeb's coronation. For the first time the name of Raibaghan to be Rani Savitribai was made known to the history by this letter.

8. Ekharfi or the revenue statement of Pargana Papal in the reign of Aurangzeb.

9. Ekharfi or the revenue statement of Pargana Ner Parsopant in the reign of Aurangzeb. The statement is in Persian and each page of the statement bears the seal of Aurangzeb.

10. Ekharfi of Darva Pargana in Persian during the reign of Aurangzeb.

11. Ekharfi of the Kelapur and Yeotmal Pargana during the reign of Aurangzeb.

12. An order from Krishna Shah, the Gond Raja of Chand to Nagoji Deshmukh of Parwa to send his son with an army to help him in certain campaign. It was in the reign of Aurangzeb when the Raja was his vassal.

13. Three Persian statements from Parwa Jagirdar dealing with the dispute between Kanhuji Bhonsla and Raghuji I and ultimate imprisonment of Kanhuji Bhonsla.

14. A new letter from Chintoram Wakeel to his master Sardar Deokate in 1760 A.D. referring to the second marriage of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa at Rakshabhavan.

15. Original order from Shahumaharaj of Satara in Rajshaka 49=1723 A.D. It bears the seals of Shahu Maharaj, Bajirao I and Shrinivas Patna Pratinidhi,

16. Revenue statement of some villages in Darwaha pargana in A.H. 947=1538 A.D.

17. A copper plate grant in Kaithi characters from Benares by Maharaja Deep Narayan Shah to Anant Bhat in Samvat 1790=1733 A.D.

18. Six Persian letters from East India Company to Poona Darbar of Peshwa. They are in original and bear signatures of the Governors-General like Lord Cornwallis, Sir John Shore and Mr. Pherson and are addressed to Savai Madhorao Peshwa, Balaji Vishvanath, Sakharam Bapu etc.

19. Two original documents in Persian and Gujarati drawn on cloth about three hundred years ago.

20. Original passport issued by the British resident in favour of the famous author Balamkhat Payagude from Gwalior.

21. Original passport by the resident of Indore for allowing a journey through the Deccan British territory for the revenue of the Holkar.

22. A copy of the mss. of Jayasinha Kalpadruma compiled under the patronage and in the name of Swami Jayasing by a Maharashtra Pandit at Jaipur. The present copy was prepared by a Berni scribe at Benares only eight years after the compilation of the work.

23. Last fight of Rani Laxmi bai of Zansi at Gwalior. Water colour painting by the contemporary artist.

24. Water colour painting of Govindpant Bundele from Benares.

25. A print of a water colour portrait of Shah Jahan by a contemporary artist from a contemporary Persian manuscript from the British museum, London.

26. A copy of a letter of Malhar Rao Holkar about the battle of Panipat. The copy was prepared within forty years of the date of the battle i.e. in 1800 A.D.

27. An account of a darbar kharch which was being paid in the reign of Shahu Maharaj of Satara.

28. A revenue statement of four villages in Darwaha pargana in Suhur san 945 in Persian and Modi script.

29. Copy of an order about the settlement of shares in Deshmukhi watan between a Hindu and his converted Mahomedan brother in the reign of Aurangzeb.

30. A sanad issued by Chinkilich Khan Bahadur in the 44th year of the reign of Aurangzeb.

X. FROM THE PUDUKKOTTAI STATE.

1. A Gazetteer of Pudukkottai compiled in 1830 (Cudjan leaf manuscript).

This is a complete account of the State compiled in 1813 A.D. under the orders of Raja Vijaya Raghunath Raya Tondaiman (1807-1825 A.D.), written in Tamil on Cudjan. This forms a very early and complete gazetteer of the State.

2. Old records relating to the correspondence between the State and the East India Company.

Correspondence between the Tondaiman Rulers of Pudukkottai and the East India Company and the Nawab Walajah were ordinarily conducted in Persian, Urdu or Tamil. The Tamil letters were translated into Persian. After the annexation of Tanjore prominent Maratha officials of that court sought service under the Tondaiman; and Pudukkottai had a long succession of Maratha Dewans, Judges and Accountants. For many years in the first half of the 19th century all records in the State were written in that language. English was made the official language of political correspondence late in the 19th century.

The Tondaiman letter throw much interesting light on the history of the British expansion in the far south and are of invaluable help to the student of the history of Indo-British relations in the Carnatic.

3. Select Copper plate grants with English translations.

Copper plate grants, 9 grants relate to the reign of Raja Vijaya Raghunath Tondaiman Bahadur (1789-1807 A.D.). It is noteworthy that in these records of the 18th century the traditional prasasti of the Vijayanagar kings continue to be given. The language is Tamil and the script is in Tamil Grantha. These plates give a clear idea of the system of land tenure in South India (in a State not under the rule of the Walajah Nawabs or of the East India Company) and also of nature of the taxes. These form Nos. 24 to 32 of the State Museum Copper plates.

The two other copper plates, No. 33 & 34 are dated Saka, 1580 (A.D. 1659). They are helpful in fixing up the genealogy of the Nayak of king of Tanjore (17th Century) and of the dates of the reign of Vijaya Raghava Navaka, in particular. A note is published in the Peshawar session of the I.H.R.C.

4. Miniature paintings of the rules of the State and other contemporary princes. (Tanjore school of Paintings).

- a. Raja Raghunath Tondaiman 1769-1789.
- b. Raja Vijaya Raghunath Tondaiman 1789-1807.
- c. Raja Vijaya Raghunath Raya Tondaiman 1807-1825.
- d. Raja Raghunath Tondaiman 1825-1839.
- e. Raja Ramchandera Tondaiman 1839-1886.
- f. Raja Martanda Bhairava Tondaiman 1886-1928.
- g. Four picture cards of Tanjore school of paintings believed to represent the Maharaja Partap Singh (1739-1763). Tuljaji (1763-87). Amar Singh (1787-98) and an officer of the Court.

5. Valari (India Boomarang).

A missile which was a national weapon of the Kallars, Maravars and the Valaiyars in Pudukkottai State, Ramnad, Trichonopoly and Madura Districts till recently. These missiles were used by the Kallar soldiery in the 18th century wars. The specimens belong to the collections in the Pudukkottai old palace armoury.

XI. FROM THE DHAR STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES.

1. Terracota sealing of Ballala (300-500 A.D.) in Wakatak script found at Kesur, a village of Dhar State.

2. The gold coin of Chandra Gupta II (375-413 A.D.) found at Nanoda.
Obv.—King riding on horseback (Maharaja Dhiraaj Sri Chandra Gupta).
Rev.—Laxmi sitting on a stool (Ajit Bikrama).

3. Punchmarked copper coin (200 B.C. to 300 A.D.). A three-holed copper coin found at Kesur.

4. Silver Inkstand (1732-36 A.D.) presented to Anand Rao I Pawar, the founder of Dhar State by Chhatrapati Sahu. It is still being worshipped every year on Dashera Day.

5. Photograph of a portrait statue (golden) of Anand Rao I Pawar (1732-36 A.D.).

6. Photograph of a portrait statue (golden) of Yashwant Rao I Pawar (1736-61 A.D.).

7. Photograph of marble image of Anand Rao II Pawar (1782-1807 A.D.)

8. Photograph of gold image of Maina Bai (1792-1850 A.D.) wife of Anand Rao II Pawar.

9. Photograph of Sandstone image of Bhim (200-300 A.D.) Height 9 ft. 10 in. Breadth 3 ft. 8 in. from Dharampuri.

10. Photograph of Sandstone image of Shiv Murti (200-300 A.D.) Height 6 ft. Breadth 2½ ft. from Dharampuri.

11. Photograph of Sandstone image of Vishnu Murti (200-300 A.D.) Height 11 ft. Breadth 4 ft. 7 in. from Dharampuri.

12. Photograph of Sandstone image of Narsingha (200-300 A.D.) Height 11 ft. Breadth 4 ft. 7 in. from Dharampuri.

13. Water colour painting of Yashwant Rao II Pawar (1854 A.D.) by Pandoba Lele.

14. Brass image of Rajarajeshwar (Nataraj) 1753 A.D.—received as a gift from Balaji Bajirao Peshwa in May 1753 at the time of Carnatic Campaign.

15. Maratha Chronicles (in Modi script) by Malhar Rao Mankeshwar containing accounts of ancient dynasties and genealogies of Medieval, Rajput, Mohamadan, Mughal, Shivaji and Peshwa Periods—The last even mentioned is of 1831 A.D.

16. Marathi Bakkar by Baba Sane (1819 A.D.) in Marathi script translated into Marathi under orders of Captain Grant.

17. *Akhbars* from the Court of Peshwa (in Modi) 1709 A.D. sent by Sadashiv Krishna containing a letter from the Court of Bajirao II Peshwa regarding the Nizam and the English affairs and particularly the muddle created by the widows of Mahadaji Sindhia. Throws considerable light on the dispute between Kashi Rao and Yeshwant Rao Holkar.

18. *Akhbars* (weekly) 1852 A.D. of Sekharan Narayan, Correspondent of Pawars at the Indore Residency containing news from the Courts of Lucknow, Bharatpur, Gwalior, Delhi, Agra, Jaipur, Lahore, etc.

19. *Akhbars* (weekly) 1857-58 A.D. containing chronicle of Military and news from the Courts of Sindhia, Holkar, Gaikwad and Delhi.

20. Claims preferred by some Marathi Rajputs to kinship with Pawars of Dhara (1851-52 A.D.) written in Hindi.

21. Verdict of learned Pandits of Jhansi on the above (1851-52 A.D.).

22. Travel Diary of Yashwant Rao Pawar II (1853 A.D.) containing an account of his visit to the Vishrambag Exhibition, Poona.

23. Government of India Circular (November-1849) by Northoliff Hamilton, Resident of Indore outlining the policy of the Government of India regarding the grant of Jagirs to Princes and their Governments.

24. Map of Mutiny Period (March 1858) in Hindi illustrating the siege of Lucknow.

XII. FROM THE RAJWADE SAMSHODHAN MANDAL, DHULIA.

- (1) Picture of Sambhudas Desai of Nandurbar.
- (2) Two Farmanas of Shahjahan.
- (3) Order I of Mumtaj Mahal.
- (4) Order I of Murad Baksha.
- (5) A sale deed bilingual (Persian and Modi).
- (6) Malikambar's order.
- (7) A grant from Maloji and Vithoji Bhonsale.
- (8) A grant from Shivaji the Great.
- (9) A grant from Rajaram Chhatrapati.
- (10) An order of Shahu Chhatrapati.
- (11) A grant by Mirja Raja Jaisingh.
- (12) A letter of Kanhoji Angre and Balaji Vishwanath I Peshwa.
- (13) A letter from Balaji Vishwanath I Peshwa.
- (14) A letter from Bajirao I.
- (15) 2 letters from Raghuji Bhonsale.
- (16) A letter from Raghuji Angre.
- (17) A letter from Sambhuji Angre.
- (18) A letter from Madhao Rao I Peshwa.
- (19) A letter from Samsher Bahadur.
- (20) A letter from Ali Bahadur.
- (21) A letter from Fatsing Gaikwad.
- (22) A letter from Nana Fadnis.
- (23) 2 letters from Chetsing.
- (24) A Revenue Account paper of Yeshwantrao Holkad I.
- (25) A decision of the Karhad Brahmjns.
- (26) A copy of a page from the daily accounts of M. Elphinston.
- (27) A letter from Moreshwar Pandit Rai.
- (28) A Almanac of A.D. 1752.

XIII. MR. V. S. CHITALE, POONA.

1. Handwriting Vithalrao Holkar..	..	..	..	..	1801
2. Handwriting Govindrao Gaikwad ..	..	..	..	..	1774
3. Handwriting Dada Saheb Raghunathrao ..	..	..	..	..	1768
4. Handwriting Tukojrao Holkar..	..	..	..	..	1767
5. Handwriting Madhavrao Narayan ..	..	..	..	..	1778
6. Handwriting Vishnupant Gadre ..	..	..	..	..	1763
7. Handwriting Balaji Janardan ..	..	..	..	..	1783
8. Handwriting Mahadaji Shinde..	..	..	..	..	1764
9. Handwriting Mahadaji Shinde..	..	..	..	..	1764
10. Handwriting Naro Shankur Sachiv ..	..	..	..	..	1730
11. Handwriting Kasirao Holkar ..	..	..	..	..	1801
12. Handwriting Ahilyabai Holkar ..	..	..	..	..	1775
13. Handwriting Chinto Vithal ..	..	..	..	..	1767
14. Handwriting Daulatrao Shinde ..	..	..	..	..	1799
15. Handwriting Madhavrao I ..	..	..	..	..	1772
16. Handwriting Harkubai Holkar ..	..	..	..	..	1771

APPENDIX I. **ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.**

Page	Line	Read	For
1	1	Insert (1) after Cleghom	
2	21	Dutch (in two places) ..	Duch
4	2 (of foot note) ..	Will	Well
4	First line of last para ..	Insert 7. Before Cleghom's	
19	11 (from bottom) ..	Sena Sahab Subha	Sena Sahab Sabha
21	3 (from bottom)	ever respected ..	never respected.
51	2 (from title)	D. Litt.	D. Littl.
51	3 of the text ..	operations ..	operation.
51	1 (from bottom) ..	Suffer in	Sufferin
52	12—13	merchant vessels might call.	merchant might call.
52	6 (from bottom) ..	considerations	consideration.
52	5 (from bottom) ..	after King's Island insert / instead of (.)	
53	25	Insert, after Moluccas and Timor.	
53	9 (from bottom) ..	warships	warship.
53	(foot note reference 6) ..	floundered	flondered.
53	(foot note reference 10)	Fisher's	Eisher's.
54	3	Insert (.) after thither.	
55	6	Chatham	Chathan.
55	8	meantime	meatime.
55	17	the	the
55	22	Insert, / after be wished	
56	16 (from bottom) ..	wet	west.
56	12 (from bottom) ..	affected	ecteded.
79	5 of para 3	Armenian merchant ..	American merchant.
100	Title	Bareilley	Bareilly.
100	Foot note 2	Session	Section.
101	13	Moulvi	Molvi.
101	foot note 8	Moulvi Abdul Latif Dabir-ud-dawlah.	Molvi Abdul Latif, Dabir-ud-daulah.
103	year col. no.2 .. ..	.. 1848-49	1918-49.
103	2 of para 3	January 1,	1 January.
112	4 (from title)	Tell the Nawab that the enemy with his full force has come to this side.	By the command of the illustrious King of Kings, supreme prince, Maharaja.
112	Last line	Jelumpur	Jelumphar.
115	2 of text	Kara	Kare.
115	3 of text	Lekhulum	Lakhilum.
115	5 of Historical note ..	February 1,	February.
117	21	Panchakota	Panchakotn

